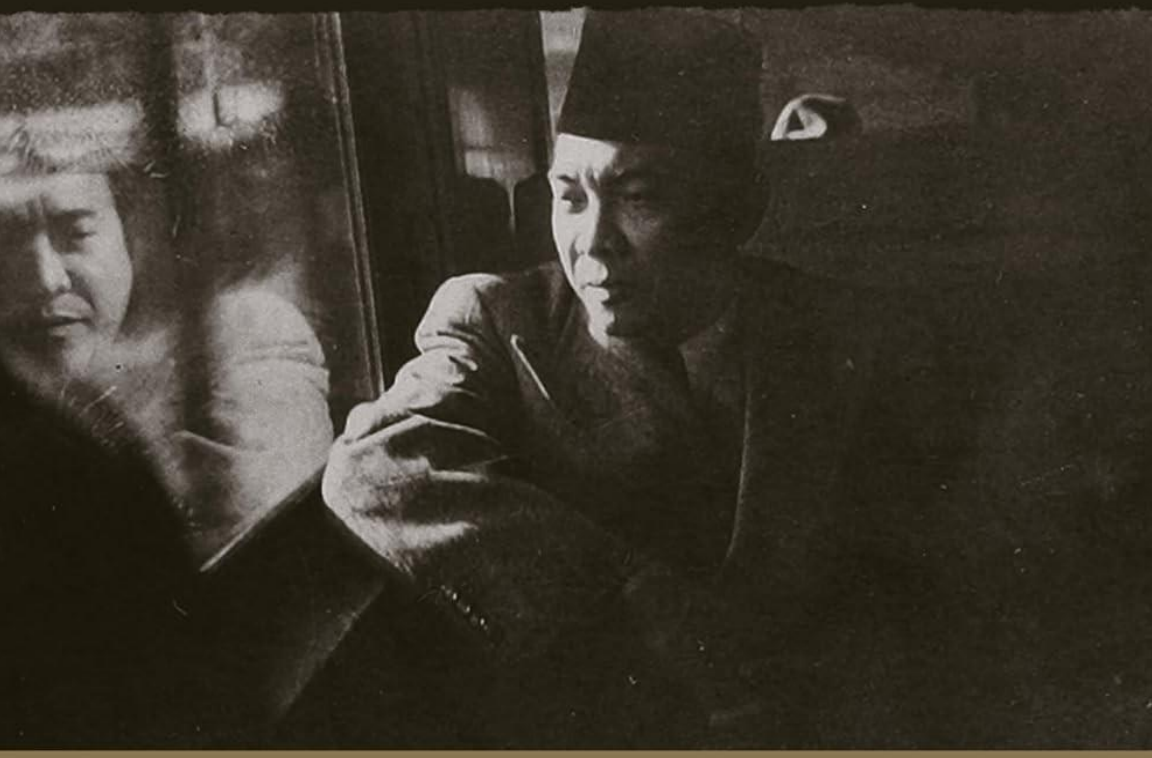
LAURIE J. SEARS



SITUATED TESTIMONIES

Dread and Enchantment in an Indonesian Literary Archive

UNIVERSITY of HAWAI'I PRESS

UNIVERSITY *of* WASHINGTON

Situated Testimonies

Situated Testimonies

Dread and Enchantment in an Indonesian Literary Archive

Laurie J. Sears

University of Hawai'i Press
Honolulu

© 2013 University of Hawai'i Press

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

18 17 16 15 14 13 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Sears, Laurie J. (Laurie Jo)
Situated testimonies : dread and enchantment in an Indonesian literary archive / Laurie J. Sears.
pages ; cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8248-3683-2 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Indonesian literature—20th century—History and criticism. 2. Indonesian literature (Dutch)—History and criticism. 3. Literature and history—Indonesia. 4. Psychic trauma in literature. 5. Psychoanalysis and literature—Indonesia. I. Title.
PL5080.S325 2013
899'.22109—dc23
2012040244

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Designed by Janette Thompson (Jansom)

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Alton "Pete" Becker. Anything I know about the art of translation I owe to Pete. He was a scholar, a mentor, a friend, and, most of all, a person who brought wisdom and compassion into the world.

Table of Contents

Preface ix

Acknowledgments xv

Note on Conventions xxi

Selected Timeline of Indies and Indonesian Histories xxiii

Map of Indonesia xxvi

Introduction: The Afterwardsness of History 1

Chapter 1 Desire, Phantoms, and Commodities: Maria Dermoût's Colonial Critique 17

Chapter 2 At Home and Not at Home in Empire: Transnational Phantasies of Colonial Modernity 50

Chapter 3 A Neurotic Family Romance of Modernity and the National Form 88

Chapter 4 The End of the Nationalist Romance 120

Chapter 5 Trauma and Its Doubles in Postcolonial Masculinity 159

Chapter 6 Masculinist Trauma and Feminist Melancholia 176

Afterword: Trauma, Translation, and a Critical Path 202

Notes 215

Glossary 275

Selected Bibliography 281

Index 305

Preface

When I first arrived in Java in 1972, it was before Edward Said had written his paradigm-changing book on orientalism. I left the United States and went to the "Orient" more to escape the Occident and the politics of late-1960s America than to seek the exotic. I did find a certain exoticism that soon became mundane as it also allowed the Occident I had left to come into focus. Perhaps by the 1970s, some who found themselves in the "Orient" were not always—as Said suggested—aware they were there to master it. It took me over twenty years to unravel the orientalist fantasy of Java as I worked my way through the academic maze and became an orientalist myself: one who can speak with a certain authority about some piece of the "Orient." This economy of power and loss works itself out in the interdisciplinary text that unfolds here. I question the boundaries among fiction, memoir, and history by focusing on novels as situated testimonies, stories of the habits and beliefs of day-to-day life.

Having taught and written Southeast Asian histories for almost three decades, I find the histories more difficult to tell as I have realized how profoundly the teller shapes the tale. To show the beauty and inconstancy of memory, I have chosen to begin with the work of a Dutch author who spent thirty years in the Indies before World War II and whose own work stretches the boundaries of story, history, and colonial critique. Thus begins this reflection on desire, gender, black magic, and trauma. By juxtaposing psychoanalysis with stories of imperial literatures, perhaps I might open up new conversations across disciplinary borders.

Even though some Euro-American scholars today argue that psychoanalysis is a Jewish or a European methodology, others have seen it as a transnational discourse of desire. As explained by Freud himself in his autobiographical study, some of the basics of the psychoanalytic field arise out of Darwinism and new theories of electricity and the idea of energy charges. These ideas of overstimulation and excess energy and their connections to the production of neuroses and psychoses are thought-provoking for the experiences

of Europeans in the colonial world in general and in the Indies in particular. Although earlier ideas exist, theories of "racial degeneration" in the tropics in the fin-de-siècle period can be traced back to both eugenics and Freud's discussions of the "primitive." Where do Freud's ideas of stasis as an ideal condition originate? Are they Austrian, Central European, Jewish, or Greek? Why do Javanese psychologies posit similar ideas but come to different conclusions? Is psychoanalysis a "Jewish science," or are Freudian ideas and insights universal? Are the relations between trauma and psychoanalysis embraced by modernity and modernist paradigms generalizable to parts of the world outside of Euro-America?

A series of mental illnesses experienced by the children of close friends sparked my interest in Freud and psychoanalysis. Children who had so recently been loving members of warm and wonderful families seemed to become different people. To some extent, this happened also within my own extended family. Finding a way to understand these occurrences haunted my intellectual life. Issues of blame and other familiar family narratives rose quickly to the surface as friends and family talked secretly about these illnesses. The North American medical world is now almost universally reliant on psychopharmacology. But psychosis calls for more than a theory of chemical imbalances in the brain, and we seek answers that doctors cannot provide. Some experts tell us that memories created in delusional states are as real as any other memories. Memory becomes more and more elusive. Thus my interest in the relationships among history, memory, and archive became both personal and professional.

My intellectual turn to literature came as I found that psychoanalytic theory, Freudian, Kleinian, or Lacanian, did not satisfy my need for an understanding of trauma. The experiences I was seeking to understand were best expressed in literature, most powerfully in the works of the Dutch authors Louis Couperus and Maria Dermoût and later in works by Indonesian authors. By reading the novels along with Freud and his interpreters, I could begin to understand the theory, and the theory helped to explain the traumas, delusions, hallucinations, and rewritings of the past. This allowed me to face the challenges in my personal life, in the lives of my family and friends, and in my work on Indonesian history.

For example, the tendency to see the causes of trauma arising from prepubescent childhood experiences, a major Freudian belief, has been overtaken by new scientific work. Popular beliefs extended Freud's theories and allowed people to blame parents for major mental illnesses. Today

they are attributed to environment as well as genetics and to chemical imbalances rather than traumatic sexual experiences. But it was my own personal experiences of mental illness, after six years of reading as much as I could about trauma written by Freud and his followers, imitators, and detractors, which finally led me to understand the rather esoteric debates about hypnosis, suggestion, trauma, and fantasies that have been circulating over the past one hundred years. Ideas of hysteria and neuroses born from fantasies rather than actual events were developed in Freud's work after 1897. A few of these issues will be discussed in more detail in some of the chapters that follow. But even today some women conversant with psychoanalysis see Freud's demoting of seduction from "fact" to fantasy as a betrayal and an abandonment.

In my own experience, I listened as grown-up children of my friends rewrote their childhood experiences, incorporating stories of violation: hallucinations of alien worlds, stories of impossible sexual abuses, tales of rape. In all these cases that I knew of, there was no way that these things could have happened, yet those who told the stories believed they had. Once a college student, the daughter of a high school friend of mine, was in a high security psychiatric unit in a Seattle hospital. My friend, who lived on the East Coast and was flying out as soon as possible, asked me to go and visit. I had known this young woman since she was a child. She welcomed me into a depressing, sterile hospital room that in her mind appeared as an elegant hotel. She offered me food from a refrigerator with nothing in it. She told me stories of experiences she believed we had both taken part in, things I knew never happened. This was my first experience of a manic episode.

My students also led me into issues of traumatic memories and experiences. Many of my students these days are the children of those who fought in the Vietnam-American Wars.[1] Some of their fathers and mothers fought with the U.S. troops, whether American or Vietnamese, Khmer, or Laotian, and some fought on the other side. Many of these veterans do not speak about their time in the war for a variety of reasons. But, as analyzed in Chapter 1, silences are as powerful as words on the psyches of children whose parents were traumatized by war and the escape from war. This generation of students is beginning to take an interest in these experiences that their parents had, even though they often were not shared with the children. In my lecture classes on Southeast Asia, I often give the students an assignment to produce a contribution to oral history by

interviewing someone who has made the journey from Southeast Asia to Seattle. I encourage them to interview family members, and some return to class slightly awed by what they had not known of their parents' lives. They are proud also to share in those memories, even though dominant narratives have begun to erode the individual tales in favor of community memories. Gai Hoai Thi Nguyen, one of my former graduate students, became interested in the project of investigating experiences of the children of Vietnamese veterans of the Vietnam-American Wars. Stories of life in Vietnamese reeducation camps emerged from this research, stories that were repressed for a long time.

Situated Testimonies is about trauma as expressed in literature written by Dutch Indies writers and Indonesian writers—almost all of whom were acquainted with the work of Freud or who had heard about Freud. As Indies peoples gained a Dutch education in the early twentieth century—less than 1 percent could write in Dutch by 1930—and post–World War I Indonesian intellectuals began to write in Malay, today called Indonesian, Freud's ideas resonated with them. In my earlier work *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales,* I looked at how colonial discourses permeated cultural productions, even traditions we might call folk traditions, and how the shadow theater of Java moved between court and village. *Shadows* also looked at the failure of Javanese nationalism and the transition of Javanese subjects into "Indonesian" ones. The failed narratives of the nation in *Situated Testimonies* apply more to those Dutch who lived in the Indies and identified with it than they do to those who will become Indonesians. Some of the Dutch settlers (Dutch *blijvers*) hoped to become the elite class of an independent Dutch Indies nation. *Situated Testimonies* traces the ways in which that national dream failed.

Shadows talked about the intertwining of written and oral sources in the writing of history; *Situated Testimonies* talks about the similarity of novels, ethnographies, and histories as family narratives of neurotics. The new book is more of a meditation on history: a mixing of primary and secondary sources and my doubts about the differences between them. Speeches, essays, travel writing, interviews, and fiction are all vehicles for conveying fragments of history. If the transmission of oral tales was the main point of *Shadows,* the transmission of dominant and minor literatures is the subject of *Situated Testimonies.* I spend time summarizing the plots and characters of works that my audience is unlikely to read or to have read: Louis

Couperus' *Small Souls* quartet and Soewarsih Djojopoespito's Dutch novel (1940) that was only translated into Indonesian in 1975 and has not yet been translated into English. Tirto Adhi Soerjo, the model for Minke in Pramoedya's acclaimed *Buru Quartet,* is credited as being one of the first to see to the borders of a Malay-speaking Indies nation. Tirto's journey from being a forgotten character—lost in the archives—in the story of the Indonesian national awakening to becoming Pramoedya's character Minke takes the reader through the transnational discourse of psychoanalysis, the expressions of trauma in narrative, and the intricacies of memory, the subjects of *Situated Testimonies*.

Acknowledgments

As I was starting the major research for this book in 2004, I had envisioned it as a book on Indonesian history, memoir, and literature: ways in which forms of narrative overlapped and how each form put in question the disciplinary foundations of the others. I had also been drawn to the "Indies Letters"—discussed in the first half of this book—the literature produced by Dutch writers who had spent five, ten, thirty years, or their whole lives living in the Indies. I wrote my first study of the Indies Letters in 1997, on a senior fellowship at the International Institute for Asia Scholars (IIAS). My time at IIAS allowed me to meet the wonderful Indonesian-Dutch scholar Rob Nieuwenhuys (1908–1999), who had drawn together a four-hundred-year collection of Indies literature by combining the earliest travel and scientific reports made by the Dutch in and on the Indies, some colorful colonial scholarship, and, finally, by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fiction that ranged from the work of Multatuli and Edgar du Perron to that produced by the wives of colonial officials. I had the opportunity to meet with Nieuwenhuys several times in Amsterdam, and, at the age of eighty-eight, he drove me to his favorite Chinese-Indonesian restaurant.

By 2005, after editing a book on the field of Southeast Asian studies, I saw the book project as interrogating colonial and postcolonial novels as testimonies. The book would look at the way violence haunted intimate spaces in Dutch and Indonesian literary works depicting the Indonesian island world since the early twentieth century. In the early part of the century, colonial novels by Dutch and Eurasian authors presented women from the Indies as dangerous and full of primitive passion. In the 1990s, however, a new generation of Indonesian authors began to integrate feminine voices and feminine spaces into Indonesian national narratives. Of the three female and five male authors whose work this book discusses, Ayu Utami, who belongs to the 1990s generation, integrates the suppressed voices of Indonesia's authoritarian past into its national histories. Ayu's work provides an example of how literary texts might have an impact on scholarly understandings of Indonesian intellectual histories by

humanizing and dehumanizing Indonesian subjects. The movement of Southeast Asianist scholars into literary studies is enriching the comparative study of literature and the social science work of post–Cold War era studies. I saw the book project as a postcolonial and feminist close reading of selected Indies and Indonesian literary texts.

Several things happened in my life during the 2005–2006 academic year that caused me to see the questions of Indonesian history in a different light. I developed an interest in psychoanalysis for personal reasons that year, and, in the spring, my colleague John Toews was teaching his popular course on Freud. I asked him if I could sit in on the class. Toews is a famous scholar of Freud and of European intellectual history. Certainly my ideas about Freud were influenced by John's likes, dislikes, and views of the subject. But the course served me well because I needed to go back to the beginnings of trauma theory, and this began my journey into Freudian thought, a journey that is traced in this book. I want to explain this up front: my interest in psychoanalysis and trauma theory did not arise out of the popular use of theory of the 1980s and 1990s but out of the needs of my personal life discussed in the Preface. I thank John for allowing me to sit in on his class and introducing me to his ideas about Freud.

A second and fortuitous event of the 2005–2006 year was the beginning of my collaboration with a new Southeast Asianist colleague, Francisco "Kiko" Benitez, a scholar of comparative literature, Tagalog, and Malay/Indonesian in particular. We first were drawn together when Benitez and I became co–principal investigators on a Ford Foundation project called Difficult Dialogues that came into being in 2004–2005 in the wake of religious tensions on campuses across the United States in the aftermath of 9/11. In addition to working together on a successful three-year project, we also became close intellectual interlocutors for one another. As I had turned my focus to literature, I needed a mentor to acquaint me with the disciplinary foundations of the field of comparative literature. Benitez in turn was fascinated by history and its intellectual apparatuses. Benitez and I cotaught several courses together, introducing students and one another to both disciplines through the critical analysis of films, novels, and a variety of historical sources. My intellectual debts to Kiko Benitez will become apparent to the readers of this book. We worked so closely together that we found it hard to disentangle our ideas. Ideas I attributed to Benitez he would say originated in ideas I had explained to him. Thus I learned much about the discipline of comparative literature over the years of writing this

book. Any misunderstandings are mine alone, but many of my insights came through collaboration with Kiko Benitez.

There are many institutions and funding agencies that generously helped me to research and write this book. The most important was the ACLS Fellowship I received in 2008–2009. The fellowship provided a year off from all teaching responsibilities and allowed me the crucial time and space to think deeply about the chapters and their organization. The Royalty Research Fund of the University of Washington also provided important research time. This funding allowed me to spend research time in Holland in 1997 and Indonesia in 2003. Several quarters of sabbatical leave were provided by the University of Washington College of Arts and Sciences. I also wish to thank the International Institute for Asia Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, and especially Wim Stokhof, for granting me a senior research fellowship and enabling me to extend it to five months in 1997, when I first conceived of working on the Dutch Indies Letters. IIAS even invited me to make several more visits to Leiden to attend conferences and present papers. The Rockefeller Foundation's Critical Asian Studies program, located for ten years at the Simpson Center for the Humanities of the University of Washington, and especially colleague and friend Tani Barlow provided many interesting conferences and venues for thinking about my work.

I presented portions of this book at different universities across the country and in Holland: Cornell University, University of California–Riverside, University of California–Berkeley, University of Southern California, Seattle University, and the International Institute for Asia Studies and Leiden University. The feedback I received from the various audiences was exceedingly useful for the development of my thinking. I also want to thank my University of Washington History Department graduate student historiography seminar from winter 2010. The students complained that I made them read more Freud than they had ever wanted, but they persevered, learned the difference between Freud's first and second topographies, and joined in lively discussions on the topics of trauma, archives, and memory. I also want to thank the writer Tinuk Yampolsky for accompanying me on several of my interviews in Jakarta in the summer of 2003. Tinuk also arranged and hosted a marathon six-hour interview with Ayu Utami, one of the authors discussed in this book.

The work of certain friends and colleagues was inspiring as I wrote this book: Benedict Anderson, Harry Aveling, Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen,

Pheng Cheah, Joost Coté, Hilmar Farid, Nancy Florida, Frances Gouda, Ariel Heryanto, Marilyn Ivy, Ranjanna Khanna, Heonik Kwon, Goenawan Mohamad, Rudolf Mrazek, Pamela Pattynama, Nicholas Rand, Sarita See, Patsy Spyer, and Ann Stoler. The work of Mieke Bal, Anne Anlin Cheng, Elizabeth Povinelli, and Hilda van Neck Yoder, whom I have never met, was important in various ways. Many friends and colleagues read portions of the manuscript, or discussed it with me, and provided excellent comments: Francisco "Kiko" Benitez, Carlo Bonura, Micaela Campbell, Gail Dreyfuss, Hazel Hahn, Deborah Homsher, Celia Lowe, Boreth Ly, Vince Rafael, Tikka Sears, Jim Siegel, Eric Tagliacozzo, Jean Taylor, Sara Van Fleet, and Mary Zurbuchen. Henk Maier, a master of Indonesian and Malay literature, heroically read most of the chapters of this book, improved many of the translations, and always provided thought-provoking and disturbing questions that made the work more concise and comprehensible. Two anonymous readers for the University of Hawai'i Press produced wonderful reports that allowed me to improve the manuscript.

Heidi Connelly helped to format the book for readers and created the bibliography, and Laura Helper-Ferris gave the book a final editorial read and suggested some significant reorganization that has made the book stronger. Catherine Chilton formatted the manuscript according to the University of Hawai'i Press style sheet, Susan Stone did the final meticulous copyediting, and Mardee Melton did the cover design. I thank all of them for their work. I thank Jan van Rosmalen and the KITLV library's photographic archive for providing me with four of the illustrations in the book. I thank John McGlynn and Hani Siti Hasanah of the Lontar Foundation for finding me two of the other needed photos. The last photograph was found by Evi Sutrisno in Leiden, and she graciously prepared it for me. I thank Cornell University's Southeast Asia Publications for allowing me to include material that was first published in their journal *Indonesia:* "Reading Ayu Utami: Notes Toward a Study of Trauma and the Archive in Indonesia," *Indonesia* 83 (2007), 17–40, and "Modernity and Decadence in *Fin-de-Siècle* Fiction of the Dutch Empire," *Indonesia* 90 (2010), 97–124. My editor at the University of Hawai'i Press, Pam Kelley, was always encouraging, efficient, and wise. Pam read the original manuscript and was enthusiastic about a book, my book, on Indonesian literature, a joy for an author. Pam was always responsive and kept me informed about the progress of the manuscript as it worked its way through the publication process.

I especially want to thank my husband, Wolfgang Linser, who read through every chapter with interest and excitement. He suggested places to cut or expand, designed the map, and talked with me for years about trauma, Indonesia, and history as I worked to complete the book. His patience is unending, his knowledge of Indonesia unmatched, and his advice invaluable. My daughter, Tikka, and her husband, Manuel, delighted in distracting me from this work. I thank them for that.

Note on Conventions

Spellings in this book have been left unchanged from their appearance in the original documents. There are many inconsistencies since spellings changed from the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies to the Old Order state of Indonesia's first president, Soekarno, and then to the New Order of Indonesia's second president, Suharto. To erase those differences would do violence to the historical meanings that these different spellings contain.

I use abbreviations in the text for the various languages whose words appear in this book: I for Indonesian, M for Malay, J for Javanese, D for Dutch, F for French, and G for German.

I have made a simple glossary of foreign words and psychoanalytical terms to enable readers to look up key terms and words. The first time such a word appears, it is shown in bold.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the translations from Malay, Dutch, Indonesian, and Javanese—with all their failings—are my own.

Selected Timeline of Indies and Indonesian Histories

12th–21st century	Formation of indigenous Islamic communities in archipelago
14th century	Hindu-Javanese Majapahit Empire
ca. late 15th century	First coastal Islamic sultanate in Java
ca. 1580s–1830	Islamic kingdom of Mataram
1595	First Dutch ships reach the Indies
1602–1800	Dutch Trading Company—VOC—period
1619	First printing press, Batavia
1800	Dutch government takes over VOC Indies possessions
1811–1816	Indies possessions fall into British hands
1825–1830	Java War
1830–1910	Dutch colony takes shape
1850–1900	Flourishing of Chinese Malay novels
1860	Dutch ban Indonesians from slave owning
1870–1900	Liberal Period of Dutch settlers
ca. 1900	Ethical Period, Kartini Letters
1900–1910	First "Native-owned" newspapers First novels written by "Natives"
1908	Forerunner to Balai Poestaka set up Formation of Boedi Oetomo, first modern organization
1912	Formation of Sarekat Islam, first mass organization
1918	Tirto Adho Soerjo dies
1928	Soempah Pemoeda, or Youth Oath, proclaims One Nation, One Language, One People for emerging Indonesian state
1930s	Poedjangga Baroe Literary Period
1930–1940	Dutch jail leaders of noncooperating "Natives"

1940	Hitler invades Holland
March 1942	Japanese invade the Indies
1942–1945	Japanese intern Dutch civilians and military
	Soekarno and Hatta work with Japanese
August 17, 1945	Soekarno and Hatta proclaim independence
1945	Soekarno becomes president
1945–1949	Dutch reoccupy Indonesia
	Indonesian Revolution
1948	Madiun Communist Rebellion put down by Soekarno
1949-1950	Indonesian nation emerges
1950–1957	Soekarno's Parliamentary Period
1955	First open Indonesian elections
1957	Soekarno declares martial law
1959–1965	Soekarno's "Guided Democracy" Period
1960	Elected parliament closed down by Soekarno
September 30/ October 1, 1965	"GESTAPU" murders of generals
ca. 1965–1966	Killing of suspected communists and their allies
1966	Beginning of Suharto's New Order Government
1966–1979	Pramoedya and 200,000-plus others jailed
1967–1998	Suharto presidency
1994	*TEMPO* and other journals shut down
	Ayu Utami and others form Journalistic Alliance
May 1998	Suharto steps down
1998–1999	Habibie presidency; political prisoners freed, freedom given to press, right of assembly reinstated
1998–2001	Reformasi Period of openness for writers, journalists, former political prisoners
1998–2002	Period of intense ethnic violence
1999	East Timor votes to become independent
	First open elections in Indonesia since 1955
	Election of Indonesia's third president, Abdurrahim Wahid, or "Gus Dur," who separates military and government
2001	Wahid forced to step down

2001–2004	Megawati Soekarnoputri presidency; first president to give civil rights to Chinese Indonesians, accept will of the people and democratic transition
May 20, 2002	Timor Leste becomes new nation
2004, 2009	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidencies

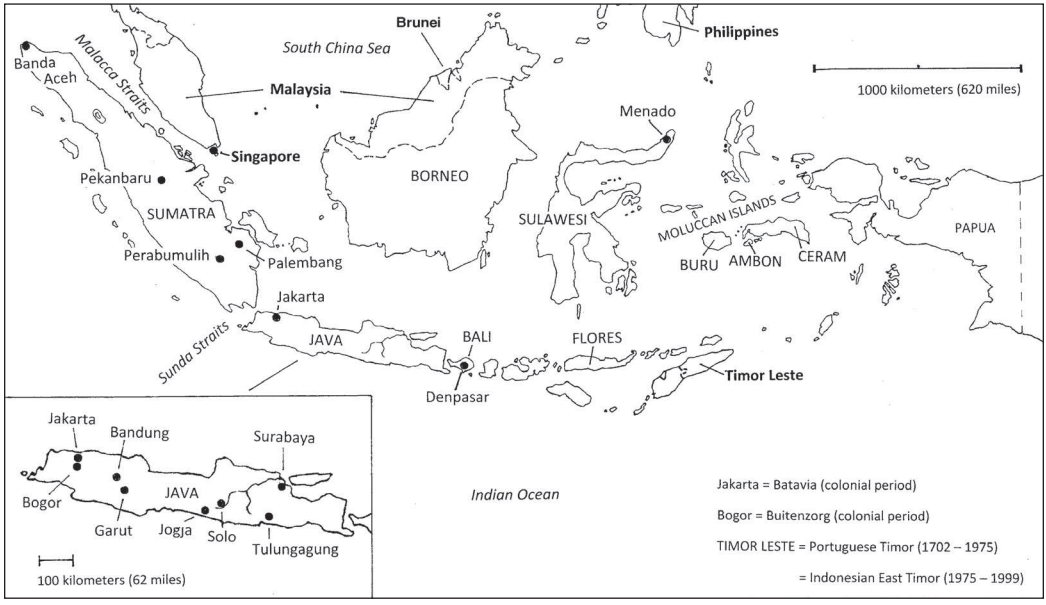


FIGURE 1 Map of Indonesia with Java inset, drawn by Wolfgang Linser.

INTRODUCTION

The Afterwardsness of History

> I began with the tetralogy *Bumi manusia* [This Human Earth], particularly working on the currents that ebbed and flowed during the period of Indonesia's National Awakening. And so there came to be a new reality, a literary reality, a downstream reality whose origin was an upstream reality, that is, a historical reality. A literary reality that contains within it a reorientation and evaluation of civilization and culture, precisely what is not contained in the historical reality. So it is that the literary work is a sort of thesis, an infant that on its own begins to grow in the superstructure of the reader's society. (Toer, "Ma'af, Atas Nama Pengalaman")

> I would like to say that Freud's concept of **afterwardsness** [***Nachträglichkeit***] contains both great richness and a certain ambiguity, combining a retrogressive and a progressive direction. I want to account for this problem of the different directions, to and fro, by arguing that, right at the start, there is something that goes in the direction of the past to the future, from the other to the individual in question, that is in the direction of the adult to the baby, which I call the implantation of the enigmatic message. This message is then retranslated, following a temporal direction which is, in an alternating fashion, by turns retrogressive and progressive (according to my general model of translation-detranslation-retranslation). (Laplanche, *Essays on Otherness*)

The late Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer makes a distinction between a "downstream" literary reality and an "upstream" historical reality. Pramoedya suggests that literature has an effect on the upstream flow

of history, that it can change history. *Situated Testimonies* follows and illuminates this process through considering a selection of Dutch Indies and Indonesian writers whose works span the breadth of the twentieth century and beyond. The book suggests that literary works can bring ineffable experiences of trauma into narrative form. Pramoedya's books on the turn-of-the-twentieth-century writer Tirto Adhi Soerjo, one of the writers discussed in Chapter 2, have changed the history of Tirto himself and the history of what Pramoedya calls Indonesia's National Awakening. Soewarsih Djojopoespito, the only "Native" Indies individual to have written a novel in Dutch, was asked to translate her own Dutch novel into Indonesian thirty-five years after it was written, changing and, in effect, doubling the original.[1] Holland's prolific twentieth-century writer Louis Couperus' time in the Indies in 1899 changed his novels about Holland.

Dread and enchantment haunt twentieth-century Dutch Indies and Indonesian literary archives. Literary works, seen as **situated testimonies**, offer a method of reading the traces that elude archival constructions—emotional traces that historians may fail to record or witness.[2] My use of Haraway's notion of "situatedness" reiterates the idea that all of us speak from somewhere.[3] Testimony, especially eyewitness testimony, is a gold standard in historical methodology. The authors of literary works are eyewitnesses of their time, but literary works are first of all written as literature. Literary or formal aspects cannot be ignored in the attempt to unravel the secrets and mysteries that literary works contain. In addition to formal analyses of "literature," some literary works can then become situated testimonies to be placed in historical archives. In a figurative sense, as this book illustrates, an archive is a site of exclusion, haunting, and lack. In a literal sense, archives point to collections of documents and written testimonies that exist in institutional forms and spaces. How political factors influence processes of shaping and preserving archival materials has become the focus of scholarly work that looks at archival constructions under colonial conditions or in the face of postcolonial state repression.[4] As Pramoedya explained, colonial and postcolonial literary works influence the way the past has been narrated in particular Indonesian archives. This way of reading follows the logic of French psychoanalyst and philosopher Jean Laplanche's notion of "afterwardsness," as explained in the second epigraph opening this introduction. Afterwardsness is Laplanche's preferred translation of Sigmund Freud's idea of *Nachträglichkeit,* usually rendered as "deferred action."

Jean Laplanche is best known in the United States for the loved and occasionally hated dictionary of Freudian concepts and terms that he cowrote with Jean-Bertrand Pontalis in 1967.[5] Beyond the field of psychoanalysis, Laplanche's newer work from the 1980s and 1990s has much to offer to literary analysis and history writing. This later work deals with questions of time, translation, and the Other, and it is this work that has inspired my thinking about historical archives, literature, the Dutch Indies, and Indonesia. Jean Laplanche's idea of "afterwardsness" makes the chapters of this book difficult to place in historical time. For example, Chapter 5, on the work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, retells parts of the story discussed in Chapter 2, on Tirto Adhi Soerjo, and Chapter 6, on the haunting work of Ayu Utami, returns to themes raised in Chapter 1, on the haunted work of Maria Dermoût. Though Dermoût published her work in the 1950s, later than Couperus' or even Soewarsih's major work, Dermoût's work seems the oldest, lost forever in ***tempo doeloe,*** or time past. Indonesia's national hero and first president, Soekarno, appears in several chapters with different resonances in each location.

What is "afterwardsness" and how does it help tell the story I want to tell? The German word *Nachträglichkeit* has been translated as deferred action for most of the twentieth century by James Strachey, Freud's official translator and editor of the Standard Edition of Freud's works. The concept was first used by Freud in the late nineteenth century and appears in many of his major essays. For Freud the idea was closely related to trauma, age, sex, seduction, and time. It is an idea many scholars have sought to clarify, argue with, or reject. Freud used deferred action to explain how, though an adult might see an event in the past as sexual even years after that event has occurred, that same event would not be understood by a child as sexual until after adolescence. Once an individual is sexually aware, Freud indicates, that individual's early experiences might be triggered by a later event and perceived as traumatic, even though the experience would not have been viewed as traumatic at the time of its occurrence. This, in a drastic simplification, is Freud's concept and the logic of Strachey's translation. For Freud the key concept was and always was sex. In Laplanche's reworking of the idea, however, messages given in early childhood by caregivers/motherers/punishers leave traces or, to use Laplanche's Lacanian borrowing, **enigmatic signifiers**. The enigmatic signifiers implant ideas, and these ideas—called by Laplanche **intrusive intimacies**—must be retranslated in different ways to work through traumatic memories.[6] Laplanche's

linking of enigmatic signifiers and intrusive intimacies serves as one of my guides to the literatures of Dutch colonial and Indonesian postcolonial times because the ideas point to the places where secrets hide and gaps in memory are found.

Trauma, Memory, and Archives

What are the problems that attend historical and fictional writing in the face of trauma and its vicissitudes? Freud was known for popularizing the ideas of male as well as female hysteria and, after World War I, for equating shell shock with the traumatic neuroses, even though he and Breuer and other researchers had already developed the discourse and study of trauma in the late nineteenth century.[7] Scholars of European history have written about the inabilities of trauma victims to narrate the past, and there is an extensive body of work available on the problems of witnessing faced by Holocaust survivors.[8] Dori Laub, a Holocaust survivor, has summarized the different sense of time, memory, and narrative of those who have survived excruciating suffering as follows: "Trauma survivors live not with memories of the past, but with an event that could not and did not proceed through to its completion, has no ending, attained no closure, and therefore, as far as its survivors are concerned, continues into the present and is current in every respect."[9] Laub suggests that trauma survivors experience time differently from others and that this has implications for both witnessing and testimony. Laub raises again the issue of narrative memory versus traumatic memory, discussed here and in Chapters 2 and 6, and the Afterword, a debate that goes back to the research of Charcot in the late nineteenth century. Walter Benjamin, commenting on ideas from Proust and Freud, phrased this as a difference between voluntary and involuntary memory.[10] For Benjamin, Proust's famous *madeleine* scene from *A la recherche du temps perdu* was the classic example of involuntary memory. This debate over forms of memory continues today, although it is framed in different ways. One such distinction that has remained popular in neuropsychoanalytic theory is between **declarative memory** and **procedural memory:** the former includes memories of events and experiences that can be recalled in narrative form, and the latter refers to forms of habitual life like walking, talking, or driving that cannot be recalled into narrative memory.[11] Trauma is connected to time in the work of these writers and has been most interestingly explored in Jean Laplanche's retranslation of

Nachträglichkeit as "afterwardsness," discussed in the various chapters of this book. Intellectual historian Dominick LaCapra raises the notion of a break in time for trauma survivors: "Trauma indicates a shattering break or cesura in experience which has belated effects."[12] This delay is relevant for those Indonesians who survived the anticommunist massacres of 1965–1966 in that their stories have been suppressed for decades, and the inability to narrate those stories has an impact on the ways in which the past has been remembered. The authors discussed in the following chapters write about these issues of trauma, memory, and survival.

But how can the experience of trauma, an experience that psychoanalysts argue cannot be held in memory or narrated in linear form from memory, be expressed in historical or literary works? If, as I and many others have suggested, traumatic narratives emerge only in conversation with another—what Laplanche calls "the fabric, the context of those memories and expectations"—then these are messages, Laplanche suggests, that we have never listened to enough or clearly understood.[13] This is why an attitude of mourning attends all attempts to render trauma into narrative. The possibility of communicating traumatic experiences gives rise to ethical considerations when psychoanalysts, scholars, and/or fiction writers claim traumatic messages solicited by them are the stories of trauma survivors themselves. The debate between Holocaust survivor, professor, and psychoanalyst Dori Laub and literature professor Thomas Trezise poignantly captures many of these issues when Trezise questions Laub's work on the taking of testimonies from survivors of holocausts for its sensitivity to the ineffable quality of such testimony and the bond between the survivor and the listener who elicits the testimony. As Laub explains in his response to Trezise:

> Testimony is not a ready-made text. It emerges from a process that is set in motion in a place that provides safety through the presence of the listener (interviewer) for the witness (interviewee). . . . Once the survivors start the mental journey into their past, once they look inside themselves in the presence of an attuned listener, testimony assumes a life of its own. It is unpredictable which memories will come alive and what narrative gestalt will eventually emerge. Indeed, many survivors have voiced astonishment toward the end of their testimony because they did not expect to be able to say so much. They seem surprised by themselves and what came to their minds during their interviews. *In*

> *that respect, testimony is a new experience to them: the testimonial process does not only take the survivors back to the horror and sadness they encountered. It engages them in claiming a story of their own which holds together the fragments of their memory.*[14]

Laub is arguing several important points here: testimony does not exist as a narrative in memory before it is given, testimony needs a listener to summon and hear it, and testimony might/will be different every time it is given. For those scholars and fiction writers whose work strives to capture a trauma that exists in the past and bring it into the present, they can only attempt to bring questions of trauma and memory into narrative discourse. This is what Pramoedya does in his literary work and why literature often seems a more effective vehicle for traumatic narration than ethnography or history.

I am not arguing that the literary is only a question of form or history, and I do not separate the literary from the political, the historical, or the psychoanalytic in my discussion. Questions of form and discipline must make way for the knowledge that trauma reconfigures time and history. In this book, I focus on questions of trauma and its implications for historical and fictional writing more than I focus on events per se. Pramoedya is a critical writer, aware of psychoanalytic theory, questions of trauma, and the heavy political costs of the **New Order**'s bloody beginnings in genocide and ending in ethnic violence. The effect of Pramoedya's—or Couperus', Dermoût's, or Ayu's—efforts to bring trauma into fictional form is to allow questions of trauma and its attending **affects** to surface. The writers whose work I have chosen to discuss in this book are those whose work has touched me in a way that leads me to partake, for a moment, in the traumas of Indonesia's past. But that does not mean that the literary or historical representation of trauma is ever adequate to the event of trauma.[15] These questions of trauma and narrative lead necessarily into questions of archives as well.

The work of scholars who have studied the narratives of trauma survivors confounds older notions of how archives can be used and suggests a need to consider archives as more fluid and contingent than scholars have posited in the past.[16] How political factors influence processes of shaping and preserving archival materials is the focus of recent studies that look at archival constructions under colonial conditions or in the face of postcolonial state repression.[17] Achille Mbembe comments on the ghostly

qualities of archives in the face of state violence and censorship: "The destroyed archive haunts the state in the form of a spectre, an object that has no objective substance, but which, because it is touched by death, is transformed into a demon."[18] Mbembe's comments evoke Freud's original conception of the traumatic neurosis, discussed below, as a delayed reaction to a fright that goes unremarked until it reappears in the forms of neuroses or hauntings. As argued in the following chapters, psychoanalytic terms and discourses entered Indies literatures in the first decades of the twentieth century and entered Indonesian literature and popular culture with the birth of the new nation, growing stronger over the past decades.[19] Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Ayu Utami introduce traumatized protagonists in their novels, portray experiences of *Nachträglichkeit* and haunting, and offer stories with incomplete closure. The idea of destroyed archives haunting the nation is particularly relevant for work on New Order Indonesia, where the State controlled official narratives of the past, and this idea is one starting point for reconsidering Indonesian histories and their silences.

Psychoanalysis, Dread, and Enchantment

This book interrogates psychoanalytic discourse as it moves through colonial and postcolonial time. I am not a Freudian, and I am not arguing that Freudian psychoanalysis influenced the Dutch Indies or Indonesia.[20] Rather, I am interested in how Freudian psychoanalysis and its French interpreters were part of a transnational discourse that circulated through and became intertwined with imperial technologies, ways of remembering, and ways of forgetting. To explore these imperial and colonial discourses, I use literary and historiographical ways of reading to see how colonial and postcolonial novels of the Indies and Indonesia illuminate nationalist narratives and imperial histories.

The Dutch and Dutch Indies novels and novellas discussed in the first few chapters are linked in various ways. They all go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even though two of them, Maria Dermoût's (1888–1962) novels *Only Yesterday* and *The Ten Thousand Things*, were not published until the mid-1950s. Louis Couperus (1863–1923), one of Holland's most famous authors, wrote his most celebrated ***Haagsche romans*** (novels of colonial era Den Haag) in the early years of the twentieth century, and the Javanese author and first Native

newspaper publisher Tirto Adhi Soerjo (1880–1918) wrote his novellas in the first decade of the twentieth century as well. Dermoût, Couperus, and Tirto could all have been in the Indies, on Java, at the same moment at the turn of the last century. Maria Dermoût definitely read the work of Couperus. Did she read Tirto's work? It seems doubtful, since Tirto was not looked upon favorably by the Dutch Indies government that employed Dermoût's husband in increasingly important roles over the second and third decades of the twentieth century. These Dutch and Dutch Indies novels and novellas introduce **phantoms**, dread, haunting, and melancholia. They draw on circulating psychoanalytic discourses from the fin-de-siècle world. Although I group these concepts of phantoms, melancholia, and dread together, they are used differently in psychoanalytic and literary narratives.

Trauma is connected in this book to both phantoms and phantasies. For phantoms, I draw on the work of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, especially Abraham's idea that phantoms are "the gaps left within us by the secrets of others."[21] **Phantasies**, in my usage, can be related to phantoms, and they are part of the psychoanalytical discourse this book traces. Phantasies are generated by colonial and postcolonial desires and sexualities, and they appear as echoes and what Couperus called ***elmoe*s** (magical powers, M/I *ilmu*) from the Indies that infect Dutch colonials who settle in or visit the Indies and Indies inhabitants themselves. There is a displacement of time and space in my ideas of colonial and postcolonial phantasies that resonates as well with Laplanche's idea of afterwardsness explained above.[22] Ayu Utami, whose work I discuss in Chapter 6, makes an important attempt to distinguish phantoms from phantasies in order to heal Indonesian archives and to begin the work of healing Indonesia's New Order survivors.

Melancholia is another term that appears in the different chapters of this book in many forms. Like several other feminist scholars working on literature and psychoanalysis, I draw on the space opened up by Freud in his work on melancholia to support those who argue for a "critical melancholia" that can be used, in some instances, to further a feminist critique of nationalism.[23] Fears of phantoms and states of melancholia can cause dread and anxiety in individual subjects. ***Angst*** is the Dutch word for dread, terror, and anxiety, as it is the German, Danish, and Norwegian word. Dutch Indies writers found *angst* in the Indies, a remainder and reminder of Holland, which haunted them and their literary works. But

anxiety was not only a European condition; it accompanied the colonial modernities that were introduced in the late nineteenth century to those Southeast Asians who were trained in European language schools. The novellas of Tirto Adhi Soerjo are filled with the anxieties of modernity but with modernity's enchantments as well.

Gaps, secrets, phantoms, and Laplanche's intrusive intimacies fill the literary works of Maria Dermoût and Louis Couperus; both spent periods of their childhood in the Dutch Indies. The phantoms and phantasies of the Indies in Dermoût's and Couperus' literary works also enchant them and the characters they create. Although Dermoût and Couperus both present phantoms and phantasies in their literary works, they do not distinguish between the two. Educated in colonial schools in Holland or the Indies, Couperus and Dermoût were archivists of modernity's impact on Indies peoples. Compared to the repressed, dreary, and dark world of Holland, the Indies is filled with light and shadows for these authors. In the shadows are echoes and phantoms of the past, echoes of colonial crimes and passions. Couperus was born twenty-five years before Dermoût, and he died almost forty years before she did. Dermoût did not start publishing her work until after the Dutch had been forced out of the Indies. Her colonial critique, although muted, is a powerful one compared to Couperus'. Dermoût identified herself with the Indies, while Couperus identified himself with Europe—France and Italy but not Holland. He could not live in Holland.

The enchantment that Couperus and Dermoût depict in their novels is connected to magic, coincidence, curses, and death, and has a darker side when compared to the enchantment of Tirto with the endless commodities and styles that accompanied modernity's movements. For Soewarsih Djojopoespito, enchantment arises from the spirit worlds of Java and Sunda, and, as she suggests, it was Indonesia's first president Soekarno's ability to negotiate between that spirit world and the modern nation that kept him the key figure of Indies and Indonesian nationalism for four decades (1925–1965). The chapters of this book explore the ways that enchantments troubled Indies peoples and continue to trouble Indonesians today. I am not arguing for or against ideas of enchantment but seek to illustrate the affects and the effects of enchantment in Holland, the Dutch Indies, and postcolonial Indonesia. In this book, enchantment includes the ability of capital to generate commodities to fill the lack created by modernity's loneliness as well as the magical *elmoe*s and phantasies through which both

Dutch colonials and Indies Natives were kept enthralled and blocked from understanding the workings of power and ideology.[24] It is in the post-colonial period that government manipulations of Indonesian enchantments come more clearly into view. Pramoedya and Ayu, in their work, attempt to unravel the workings of enchantment in Indonesian histories. This book suggests that, like history writing, dread and enchantment are processes through which time is stretched, diminished, or doubled.

Historical and Literary Narratives

Atom Egoyan's powerful film *Ararat* illuminates the ideas developed in *Situated Testimonies.*[25] Egoyan had the challenge of being the first film director to make what he calls a "widely released dramatic movie" about the "Armenian Issue." As a pioneer, Egoyan felt compelled to tell a story that lays bare the events of the Armenian genocide and explores what happens to histories of trauma when they are denied over generations. He states: "*Ararat* is a story about the transmission of trauma. It is cross-cultural and inter-generational." Egoyan notes that present-day Turkish students do not know the story of the massacres or have been taught that it was the Armenians who committed atrocities against the Turkish people. He points out that these younger generations are not denying the genocide since they actually have not been taught about it.[26] The film and Egoyan's commentary highlight the fraught relations between history and literature, event and representation, and trauma and memory, themes explored in the chapters of this book. As *Ararat* unfolds, there are continuing shots of life in an Armenian village of 1915. The viewer at first assumes these scenes to be shot in a style of documentary realism, drawing on historical characters. This narrative line is intertwined with two others: a dreamlike sequence that shows the famous Armenian artist and genocide survivor Arshile Gorky painting one of his most celebrated works in his apartment in New York in 1935 and the depiction of a director and a screenplay writer making the first feature film about the genocide in 2001. The narratives are linked by integrating Arshile Gorky into the film, with Gorky's story drawn from the forthcoming book of a fictional art historian.

Ararat moves back and forth in these three time periods, illustrating the work of afterwardsness. The scenes of Gorky himself slowly become dreamlike as the viewer realizes it is impossible to know why Gorky erased the hands of the mother, supposedly his own mother, in his famous painting

The Artist and His Mother. The timelines intersect more frequently as the filmic apparatus is displayed more clearly for viewers. One particularly vivid moment comes when the art historian angrily walks onto the set and interrupts the filming, breaking the frame and exposing the wounds that filmmakers attempt to hide by sewing viewers into the director's point of view, a process called **suturing**. The two-hour film then draws to a close, and viewers realize they are at the premiere of the film and that what they thought was documentary realism is also the director's creation. This film within the film relies on two "historical" sources: the actual memoir of the missionary and doctor Clarence Ussher, who witnessed parts of the massacre, and the "fictional" art history book about Gorky, the film's main character. Egoyan blurs the lines between fiction and history again and again. Throughout the film and the film within it, the viewer also comes to realize that memories of the Armenian genocide have been passed down over four generations from survivors and, in their own way, from non-survivors to their descendents. Egoyan states: "The layers of transfer and reception are complex, but absolutely necessary as the story shifts from the eyewitness, to the epistolary, to the dramatized, and finally back to the eyewitness. . . . History is not only the responsibility of the person who speaks the truth. It needs someone to listen."[27] Issues of trauma that "need someone to listen" intrude into the story from every direction.

From Egoyan's brilliant film one can take questions rather than answers. But the film reaffirmed for me the nonexistent line between historical and fictional narratives. Both are creations of their authors, written in different narrative modes with different stylistic conventions. Many historians and even more nonhistorians have commented on this by now banal observation.[28] Yet most of the scholarly work in this area has been questioning historical, rather than literary, constructions. Although historians and anthropologists have long used fiction to give "texture" to their work, few have offered methodologies for reading works of literature as both history and literature. By this I mean that one must use both the older style of close readings of literary texts as well as newer methods of ideological and postcolonial critique. Arguing for the opening up of the study of comparative literatures to literatures from outside Euro-America, Gayatri Spivak insists that all literary texts deserve to be read with attention to detail: "I cannot help but think that to deny the privilege of close reading to the texts of the global South is to give in to comparable impulses within the discipline."[29] To pay serious attention to formalist as well as

ideological features of Dutch Indies and Indonesian texts is a worthy challenge for scholars. To read literature well requires not only language skills, but also the literary critic's theoretical knowledge, and the anthropologist's and historian's various knowledges of the local.

Egoyan asks who has the moral authority to tell a story of genocide. He takes worn-out questions of authenticity, interpretation, and poetic license and breathes new meaning into them. He shows how storytelling can empower the teller if she or he is heard by an active listener. This is the same conclusion drawn by Jean Laplanche, the French psychoanalyst whose work influences this book. Egoyan also shows the destructive work of denial: denial continues the hatreds that lead to genocide. For me, one of the most poignant moments in *Ararat* is when the genocide survivor/film director acknowledges his desire to know why the Turkish people so hated the Armenians, hated them enough to allow them to be tortured and killed, despite having lived side by side with them for centuries. In the director's voice-over narrative available on the DVD, Egoyan explains how each person has to come to terms with hatred through individual moral choices, that the Oedipal desire to know can never be satisfied. Egoyan's film shows how survivor stories can become more extreme, more black and white, as they are told to new generations. It is this process, where more nuanced narratives are folded into dominant narratives, that Egoyan's film explores.[30] Each character in *Ararat* has his or her own stories, histories, and memories of trauma to tell, but the film made by the survivor/director in Egoyan's film is stripped bare of subtleties. And by having the director in the film show the images that Egoyan felt needed to be shown, Egoyan frees himself to make a film of great nuance and subtlety.

Overview

The exposure of the filmic apparatus intentionally disrupts Egoyan's process of subtly convincing viewers to accept the director's point of view, or suturing the viewers into the director's ideological position. This disruption leaves the viewer free to decide whose narrative to accept. The **anchoring point** that is supposed to hold the ideological field in place has been set loose, and meaning slides among the characters and their views of events. For some of the characters, nothing changes; for others, their narrative constructions or accounts of themselves are always being revised. The only thing that Egoyan offers to anchor his film is a button, a button

that was missing from Gorky's shirt when he was a child having his picture taken with his mother. It is the one remainder of his mother that Gorky has in Egoyan's film and the film within it. The button is in the first shot the viewer sees when the film begins, and its movement is highlighted in the last shot of the film as Gorky's mother is shown sewing the button back on the coat. The audience now knows the button's journey, which has become a phantom of Gorky's traumatic life that ended in suicide. Its movement is the story of afterwardsness.

Each chapter of this book is more like Egoyan's button than Lacan's "upholstery button."[31] There is an imaginary thread that might link the chapters together to anchor the ideological field and hide the gaps or wounds as Lacan's *point de capiton* is supposed to do, but it is up to the reader to decide whose story to accept or what each story's "button" signifies. To help readers answer these questions, my literary archive is filled with novels and short stories, but also with letters, memoirs, essays, and interview material. In some cases, I have met the authors whose stories I retell. I never met Maria Dermoût, of course, but I once sat in the same chair in which she sat at the apartment of Rob Nieuwenhuys, the late Dutch scholar and writer, in Amsterdam. Chapter 1 engages the work of Maria Dermoût because her stories, set in a phantasized fin-de-siècle period, are filled with colonial nostalgia and loss. Some of what she has lost is easy to see: the Indies have been lost to the Dutch. But Dermoût's sense of loss and lack is complex; it forces lost time—*tempo doeloe*—into the present and pushes the present into the future. Her loss—of origins, her native land, her son, her true love—is too painful to bear, and thus loss is scattered everywhere in her work, like fragments of the dreamer in a dream. Dermoût's stories of family entanglements are full of gaps and phantoms; commodities substitute for her characters' unending lack. Dermoût, who was born in Java, lived from 1888 until 1962 and spent more than thirty of those years in the Indies. Although she was writing for most of her life, she only began to publish her work consistently in the 1950s, almost all of it after the death of her high-ranking colonial bureaucrat husband. Dermoût calls her writing and her use of oral and written sources a form and method of memory: it is through memory that she can keep the past alive, connect with what has been lost, and bring time past into the now. Narrative becomes her mnemonic device, and her literary research is a way to remember.

Chapter 2 compares Dutch metropolitan culture as portrayed in Louis Couperus' fin-de-siècle novels of Den Haag with Dutch Indies colonial

culture as depicted in the novellas and short fiction of Tirto Adhi Soerjo, elite Javanese journalist, editor, and fiction writer of the early twentieth century. Both Couperus and Tirto turned away from careers in the civil service of the colonial Indies that their families wanted them to pursue, and both became prolific writers of fiction and nonfiction. Tirto is perhaps best known through his portrayal as Minke in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Buru Quartet.* Themes of **colonial modernity** and sexual degeneracy permeate the works of both authors, producing dread and melancholia in the work of Couperus; and, despite his enchantment with capital, desire, and fashion, anxiety haunts Tirto's fiction as well. The colonial bureaucrats and cosmopolitan characters, educated and mobile inhabitants of Batavia and Den Haag who appeared in Tirto's and Couperus' works, suggest a cross-fertilization of languages and ideas, as Couperus' novels are peppered with Indies words and phrases and Tirto's use of popular, or lingua franca, Malay absorbs Dutch as well as French and English words and phrases and Arabic words common in turn-of-the-century Batavian Malay.

Tirto's and Couperus' literary descriptions of Batavia at the turn of the last century capture the ways in which Dutch and Indies upper-class writers endowed the colonial government with authority and glamour, ironically in Tirto's case and nostalgically in Couperus'. In both views, what goes on in the government palaces is hidden from the people, and, in Couperus' novels, the "people" are hidden from the "semiroyal" activities of the Dutch rulers. Couperus and Tirto Adhi Soerjo were writing their essays, novels, and novellas at the same time that discourses of trauma and neurosis were coming into focus in the emerging European "science" of psychoanalysis. Family secrets escaped and blossomed in these fin-de-siècle literary works into *colonial* phantasies. These phantasies included ideas of Dutch racial degeneration in the Indies, the early sexual maturation believed to be prevalent in the Indies, and the connections between phantasies and melancholia. Chapter 2 traces the transnational movement of bodies, fashions, phantasies, and memories between colony and metropole by analyzing the novels and novellas of Tirto and Couperus as "situated testimonies" in fin-de-siècle Dutch and Dutch Indies literary archives. I also look at Tirto's and Couperus' essays and journalism to see how these works complement or contradict the ideological attachments of their fiction.

Chapter 3 moves the focus from literature on the Indies written by Dutch authors to a novel written in Dutch by Soewarsih Djojopoespito.

Soewarsih's is the only novel written by a colonial Indies Native in Dutch, and, more important, it is considered one of the best novels written by any "Indonesian" before World War II. It provides a unique picture of the lives of Dutch-educated activist intellectuals in the repressive 1930s in the Dutch Indies. Stylistically a novel of psychological realism, *Buiten het gareel* (Free from Restraints) provides an important corrective to the many studies of the 1930s Dutch Indies by its feminist politics of location. Soewarsih was an active participant in the politics of the day, and her novel expanded the realm of the political in the last years of colonial rule. Soewarsih's novel has never received the attention it deserves since it was overtaken by World War II when it was first published in 1940 in Holland, was unavailable for many years to those who did not read Dutch, and only appeared in Indonesian in the 1970s of the neocolonial Suharto government, when political activism was brutally repressed. For these reasons, Chapter 3 gives a close reading of the narrative of *Buiten het gareel* and reflects on the ways in which Soewarsih's translation of her own novel from Dutch to Indonesian, thirty years after it was written, changes the original. This close reading enables the following chapter to expand the novel's world. Chapter 4 looks at Soewarsih's political essays and compares them with Armijn Pané's essays on culture and politics in the Indies. I compare the feminist politics of *Buiten het gareel* with Armijn Pané's controversial novel *Belenggoe* (Shackles), written in Malay and published in Batavia, also in 1940. Soewarsih's novel uses the figure of Soekarno as an anchoring point to quilt over the ideological gaps in the competing nationalisms of the time. In closing, Chapter 4 revisits several of Soekarno's famous speeches describing the romance of the revolution, tying together colonial and postcolonial time.

Chapter 5 returns to the story of Tirto Adhi Soerjo as told in the novels of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet,* but with a focus on the final novel, *Rumah Kaca* (House of Glass). Rather than the dread of waiting for anticolonial violence or Soekarno's enchantment with the violence of revolution, postcolonial writers Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Ayu Utami, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, inscribe a violence that has already happened. Pramoedya and Ayu are driven by a need to record what has been left out of historical archives. Colonial dread has turned into national melancholia, a melancholia caused by the fear of failing to remember a loss that is too large to bear. Issues of loss, witnessing, and testimony are crucial for those who study the victims of trauma, including those who survived the 1965–1966

killings in Indonesia. New research by Indonesian scholar Hilmar Farid has shown that Pramoedya's famous *Buru Quartet* about the life of Tirto Adhi Soerjo was produced through Pramoedya's ability to re-create, during his ten-year detention in the Buru prison camp, his archives that had been destroyed, first by Soekarno's government and then by Suharto's.[32]

Chapter 6 turns to the work of feminist writer Ayu Utami. Ayu portrays phantoms and phantasies that echo and negate the enchanted Indies landscapes of Maria Dermoût. Ayu's novel *Saman* (1998) and its sequel *Larung* (2001) present the twinned male activists Saman and Larung. Unlike Pramoedya's dichotomy of nationalist and collaborator in *House of Glass,* Ayu's heroes are wounded, psychotic, and morally confused. Both are activists in Suharto's New Order, but one is a sympathetic character and one is not. Ayu's work offers an elite feminist perspective on Frederic Jameson's notion of "third world" texts as masculinist allegories of the nation. It is the shifting **subjectivity** of the novels' heroines and the desubjectivation of their heroes that interrupts the novels as national allegories. The space of the novel, where women can inhabit a cosmopolitan subjectivity through their ability to travel, exists beyond the nation. Unlike those authors who see the possibility of redemption in the postcolonial nation as, in the words of Pheng Cheah, "the most apposite figure for freedom today," Ayu's novels suggest that the patriarchal vision of the nation may be doomed to failure.[33] In her 2008 novel *Bilangan Fu* (The Fu Numeral) and its sequel *Manjali and Cakrabirawa* (2010), Ayu argues that "truth" (I *kebenaran*) must be postponed. Only a critical path and a critical spirituality are possible today.

To see Indonesian literary archives haunted by phantoms and phantasies of the past is to see their limits and frames. It is, as James Siegel suggests in his study of the 1998 killings of witches in East Java, to hear the testimonies of those Dutch and Indonesian writers "traumatized . . . in the register of magic."[34] The authors whose work I explore in this book were or are enchanted with the Indies and the postcolonial Indonesian state. The one who remains shows an uncertain dread about its future.

CHAPTER 1

Desire, Phantoms, and Commodities:

Maria Dermoût's Colonial Critique

> It is a fact that the "phantom," whatever its form, is nothing but an invention of the living. Yes, an invention in the sense that the phantom is meant to objectify, even if under the guise of individual or collective hallucinations, the gap produced in us by the concealment of some part of a love object's life. The phantom is therefore also a metapsychological fact: what haunts are not the dead, but the gaps left within us by the secrets of others. (Abraham, *The Shell and the Kernel*)

> That is to say yet again that we never remember and write about the past as it really was, we embellish it too much, make it up all over again. If you conceive of it purely geographically or historically, of course it is gone. I mean, I know that the Netherlands Indies is gone, but that's no reason to say it is gone from the lives of those Dutch people who have been in the Indies or who are still there. (Dermoût in Freriks, *Geheim Indië*)

As the epigraphs above suggest, both Dutch Indies author Maria Dermoût and psychoanalyst and literary theorist Nicolas Abraham theorize time in terms of narrative, love objects, and phantoms. According to Abraham, these gaps or "phantoms" are caused by the traumas handed down in individual families, where secrets are kept that prevent new generations from understanding their particular pasts. My analysis of novels as situated testimonies is structured around both what is revealed in literary texts and what is concealed in phantoms or traumas from the past.The phantoms or

traumas are encrypted in narrative and locked away from self-understanding by the characters that populate these novels.[1] Phantoms or secrets surface in the incoherencies, disruptions, and disturbances that occur in novels about families as well as in psychological case histories.[2] It is exactly in the gaps that narrative opens up, according to Susan Stewart, that the narrative's ideological aims are most clearly articulated.[3] But, if one follows the ideas of Abraham, these ideological aims are not easily available to writers or readers of novels or **family romances**. Novels can become mysteries to be solved, and their analysis may reveal the phantoms that haunted colonial Indies time. Nicholas Rand, who translated, edited, and continued the work of Nicolas Abraham and his colleague and collaborator Maria Torok, offers an alternative to Freud's idea of the "family romance," whether in novels or in therapeutic settings, by seeing these romances as family histories that have been encrypted with transgenerational traumas and hauntings. Rather than Freud's universal paradigm where children go through predictable stages of rejecting their parents and wishing for new parents, Rand suggests that each family romance hides a particular story of unresolved trauma.[4]

Colonial Modernity and the Imperial Field

Echoes, which originate in memories of the Indies, disturb the time of colonial modernity. The time differential created by these echoes produce ***aporias,*** sources of hesitation or doubt, which arise in the temporal and spatial gaps between life in Indies colonial modernity and life in the metropole. Other scholars have suggested a time lag, or a gap, between colony and metropole and between colonizer and colonized.[5] In the 1990s Tani Barlow theorized colonial modernity for China, in particular, where processes of colonization were fractured and partial: " 'Colonial modernity' can be grasped as a speculative framework for investigating the infinitely pervasive discursive powers that increasingly connect at key points to the globalizing impulses of capitalism."[6] In the Dutch Indies colonialism was complete, exemplary, and lasting. But Dutch capital and commodities penetrated the Indies over centuries, both before and after the Dutch government took over the failing Dutch trading company (VOC) and expanded their Indies empire throughout the nineteenth century.[7] Whether colonialism was formal, as in the Indies, informal as in Siam, or fractured as in China, the idea of colonial modernity is useful in relating a sense of belated time. Today some scholars speak more often of an

"**imperial field**" or "imperial formations," combining Foucauldian ideas of governmentality and its related ideas of "cultivation of the self" or "technologies of the self" as modes by which value is produced, extracted, and accumulated.[8] Cultivation of the self is a process of self-disciplining one's behavior to fit with government policies and priorities without actual government intervention. The imperial field combines this idea of cultivation of the self with actual military threat and its accompanying infrastructure.[9] Still maintaining an awareness of complex concentrations of power, attention to imperial fields expands the center-periphery frame that privileges metropolitan centers and instead draws attention to flows and movements of ideas, capital, and people in space as well as in time.

As part of this flow of people and ideas, family romances, or family histories, unfold within an imperial field structured by colonial relations. In colonial contexts family desires are nurtured in colonial homes, where relations between Europeans and "Natives," and/or servants and children, form contested hierarchies of race and gender, self and other.[10] Dutch Indies author Maria Dermoût's novels *Nog pas gisteren* (Only Yesterday; published in translation as *Yesterday*) and *De tienduizend dingen* (The Ten Thousand Things) reflect and refigure colonial and postcolonial discourses of desire, commodity, and lack in what they say and in what they leave unsaid.[11] Dermoût's collected work, two novels and five collections of short stories, runs to about 650 pages. *Only Yesterday* (1951), whose first two versions were lost, is a self-proclaimed autobiographical story of a young girl growing up on a sugar plantation in central Java, as did Dermoût herself.[12] An evocative and often lyrical piece of writing, it pales only in comparison with the elegance and power of *The Ten Thousand Things* (1955), a novel of life at the turn of the last century on the island of Ambon in the eastern part of the Dutch East Indies. According to Johan van der Woude—Dermoût's mentor and first biographer—she began writing parts of this second novel as far back as 1916.[13] Dutch critics in the late 1950s disagreed on the status of her masterpiece as a novel or a loosely connected set of stories, but more recent Dutch scholarship argues that the book is certainly a novel and Dermoût's finest piece of work.[14]

There are many ways to trace the literary origins of the novel genre in the Dutch East Indies. Over the past few decades, scholars have connected the earliest Indies novels of the mid-nineteenth century with Chinese Malay literature that captured stories told by Chinese Indonesian writers as they moved from southern China, through the straits, and settled

in the Indies over centuries.[15] It has been less common to link the Dutch Indies Letters (D Indische Letteren), the literature written in Dutch by Dutch Indonesian authors in the Indies and in Holland, to later developments in Indonesian literary history. The literary critiques written by Dutch scholars argue for incorporating the Indies Letters into Dutch literary history, albeit as a "minor literature."[16] But I prefer the idea of seeing the Indies Letters as part of an Indonesian literary archive. This chapter and the next two will place the work of Maria Dermoût, Louis Couperus, and, to some extent, Edgar du Perron in an Indonesian literary archive that mingles their work with novels written by Indies writers, whether Chinese, Eurasian, Javanese, or Sumatran. If Indies Letters share an obsession with *tempo doeloe,* or time past, fin-de-siècle Malay novels are also obsessed with time, the time of Indies colonial modernity. Whether Dutch or Malay, the novels that I explore all portray the interiority of family life.

Dermoût, the subject of this chapter, creates chronotopes in her novels, that particular combination of space/time that Bakhtin suggests transcends historicism and linearity. Time doubles back on itself, thickens, and contracts as space flows into, flows around, and overflows the gaps created by the "charging" of narrative space.[17] And these spaces are filled with gardens, trees, ponds, flowers, birds, fish, sea creatures, seashells, the sea itself, jewels, dances, music, drums, and ghosts as well as the humans who interact with this richly drawn landscape where all the things in it are alive. Dermoût calls her writing and her use of oral and written sources a form and method of memory. Narrative is for her a mnemonic device, and her literary research is a way to remember. Dermoût's major mnemonic and narrative technique is repetition.[18] All of the living and nonliving beings of the natural world speak and whisper words that appear and reappear as echoes, something that gives them powers and forces that influence and disturb the past and the present. This technique of repetition is also prominent in the larger themes of the novels: death and loss are the largest of those themes, and it is death, its finality, and resistances to it that haunt Dermoût's narratives. Repetition gives an **uncanny** quality to Dermoût's work, leading some to say she was inspired by the oral storytellers of the colonial Indies, where she grew up and where she spent over thirty years of her life. If there is an oral quality to Dermoût's work, it is a secondary orality, an orality that has been carefully reconstructed through the writer's craft.[19] These echoes that Dermoût creates through the use of repetition become her technique for thickening time.[20]

Fetish and commodity, and their transformation into the other, figure prominently in Dermoût's novels and shorter fiction. As children, women, and Indies Natives enter into colonial modernity, they learn to replace the past or their lost youth with desire, a desire for commodities that will never satisfy their feelings of lack.[21] Felicia, a Dutch woman who is the main character of *The Ten Thousand Things,* has a mixed-race grandmother, born and bred on the island of Ambon, whose inexpensive "treasures"—magically endowed objects "free as a gift for nothing to keep"—transform after the grandmother's death into just a few of the many objects of the collection housed in her great-grandson's curiosities cabinet.[22] Questions of desire, racial difference, and lack serve as anchoring sites, quilting points, of the imperial field in Dermoût's novels and stories, even though she herself professed to be ignorant of politics. She argued that she was uneducated about the world of colonial relationships: "the so-called colonial relations were already in such a state of flux, and would become even more so, I thought. I am probably very dumb and uneducated about politics. Besides, for me it is always just a question of people."[23] Yet, in every one of her literary works, differences of race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and age are major themes; difference means loss, and loss, in Dermoût's works, must be faced. Dermoût's disavowal of political awareness is betrayed by the movements of objects and people within the Dutch Indies imperial field that surface in her fiction and memoir as well as by the postcolonial constraints of the 1950s under which she wrote.

Of all the scholars who have studied Dermoût's literary work, only two or three consider her work to contain a colonial critique. Most of her biographers and interpreters focus on Dermoût's life and how her work continually refers to her unhappy marriage, her lifelong love for her childhood sweetheart Aldert Brouwers, her love for the Indies and for Ambon, and the tragic loss of her son in a Japanese internment camp near the end of World War II. A few draw attention to Dermoût's deep study of the work of the seventeenth-century naturalist Rumphius and her knowledge of Buddhist and Taoist philosophy.[24] This material is important for biography and literary history, but it does not do justice to her work, her literary mastery, or the subtlety of her feminist and political critique. The most innovative analysis of Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things* is a short essay written fifteen years ago by Hilda van Neck Yoder, a Dutch-speaking scholar of Caribbean literature at Howard University.[25] Yoder gives a feminist and postcolonial reading of the novel that recognizes

Dermoût's colonial critique. Yoder's method of metonymic reading and Abraham and Torok's idea of transgenerational gaps and phantoms bring about a reconceptualization of Dermoût's work and her place in Dutch and English literature.[26]

In this chapter, I focus on Dermoût's two novels, *Only Yesterday* and *The Ten Thousand Things.* These works address the themes of desire, haunting, racial difference, and the circulation and transformation of commodities. Abraham and Torok's ideas of **transgenerational haunting**, mentioned above, offer a lens through which to view the colonial critique that is embedded in Dermoût's work; their ideas of "phantoms," passed down from one generation to the next, are located specifically within families.[27] Dermoût's works discussed here both involve several generations, and the interracial Dutch Indies families at the center of her work tell stories about the failure to communicate. Mothers and sons, husbands and wives, servants and masters, all say less than they mean and mean more than they say.

Phantoms, Capital, and Transgenerational Gaps

Only Yesterday, Dermoût's first published novel of 1951, is called an autobiographical work. Maria de Bruyn Ouboter-Kist, Dermoût's granddaughter, referred to *Only Yesterday* as the story of Dermoût's youth in an out-of-the-way sugar factory in central Java at the end of the previous century. Dermoût herself suggests that the story is about her youth when she is asked for an autobiographical essay in the 1960s.[28] But all of Dermoût's work contains autobiographical information that she carefully scatters and from which she hides. The haunting quality of *Only Yesterday* is achieved through the main narrative voice, which tells a story of a few years in the life of a young girl through the girl's eyes. Riek lives with her parents in a large colonial house, "a real *besaran* [big one] with annexes, stables, coach houses, and guest pavilions," in central Java just before the turn of the last century.[29] Riek's father is the overseer of a sugar mill, and thus the family is very well off at this time when the sugar trade was still good. The house requires dozens of servants: cooks, maids, launderers, seamstresses, houseboys, gardeners, water carriers, lamplighters, drivers, guards, and laborers. The ten-year-old child spends most of her time with the servants and has her own beloved nursemaid, Oerip, a Javanese word for life, who has been with the child since she was born. The narrative evokes a time and place, and tells of the things that the little girl loses over

the course of a few years: a grandfather figure, called the Old Man in the mountains, dies; a seamstress is murdered; her favorite married aunt and her father's unmarried brother have a love affair and then separate; the uncle commits suicide; and Oerip leaves. Finally, Riek loses everything: the house, the marble floor, the decorative birds, the garden, trees, flowers, the mountains, Java, the blue seas, the Indies, her childhood, and *tempo doeloe,* when she is sent to Holland for her education. The last line of the novel simply says: "She needed time to lose it all."[30] It is a novel of loss, a novel that captures the quality of *tempo doeloe,* time past, the past glory of the Dutch imperial world.

Riek feels her parents love one another more than they love her. "Riek loved her parents, but not very much really. They were always together; she didn't belong with them."[31] Riek's life moves between the nurturing and supernatural world of the servants and the guarded world of the adults. In the course of the novel, Riek will make the transition from one to the other through the negotiation of her many losses. There is the time of the sugarcane fires, a time of rebellion by the Javanese workers. It is a time of fear and plans for flight. Riek's father calls her to his office and tells her that she must go with Mangoen, the head servant, quickly and with no complaints. Riek asks about him and her mother. He says that he must stay at the sugar mill and her mother will stay with him. She complains angrily: "Why do I have to go alone? Why do I have to go?" The father gets angry and then tries to tell Riek that it is better if she just obeys. Can't she just understand that? " 'Yes,' Riek said, 'you mean when they come to murder us.' "[32] The father then becomes very angry because Riek has articulated the unspoken dread that all the Dutch in the Indies shared. Riek was never explicitly told this, but she had inherited the fear from her parents, in the manner of Abraham's phantoms. The servants are frightened also. They too have their plans for escape if the rebellion comes too close. But the noises and the beating of the warning drums eventually begin to move away, allowing everyone to resume their everyday routines. And Riek's father's reaction is: " 'Damnation, damnation!' Papa said. 'All that good sugar!' "

Then the next tragedy is set in motion. Aunt Nancy, Riek's father's cousin who is Riek's favorite aunt, has finally agreed to leave her much-older husband and marry Riek's father's brother, Uncle Fred. Aunt Nancy was on her way back to Europe to get the divorce. She has come to say good-bye and to see Fred one last time before leaving. Coincidentally, there is a party in the grand house for the European community; it is the season

of the European parties and balls. Conversations take place after dinner, and a fat doctor begins to talk about the whippings he must oversee as a routine part of his job. But, unlike his predecessor in the job, this doctor enjoys his work. He believes the condemned soldiers should be given a good thrashing, to within an inch of their life. He specifically addresses his comments to Aunt Nancy: "Then when he is taken down, I have to inspect the wounds. I must say, a rattan makes nice wounds, depends very much on the man who does the thrashing. The warden always says, 'if we'd give him a rubdown now with some red peppers, sir, he'd be tamed for keeps—'"[33]

Aunt Nancy excuses herself and leaves the room, taking Riek with her. Uncle Fred begins a fight with the doctor and challenges him to a duel. Aunt Nancy speaks to Riek as though she were an adult. Didn't she hear the evil things being said? Didn't she too want to leave the party? Aunt Nancy feels distraught and helpless: "'What can we do? What can we do? We have to do something, but we can't, the world is so full of evil,' she said with real despair, and sighed deeply."[34] Aunt Nancy's despair at the doctor's story of torture and his enjoyment of it resonates with what scholars know about the torture of Native workers carried out in the plantation economy of northern Sumatra in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Dermoût's portrayal of Aunt Nancy's reaction to the story and her subsequent actions would thus be based on the accumulation or repetition of such stories that circulated among and about the Dutch planters and other Dutch capitalists who were allowed to set up long-term leases in the Indies after 1870, in the so-called Liberal Period, the period when capital was allowed to freely enter the Indies.[35]

This episode changes everything. Aunt Nancy decides the only thing she can do to be "good" and do her part to fight the evils of the world is to stay with her husband. Uncle Fred, heartbroken and melancholy, gives up his commission in the army and goes to Australia, where he eventually commits suicide. Uncle Fred had been unable to take his most trusted Sumatran servant and companion, Buyung, with him to Australia. As Riek sees it: "Colored people were not allowed to live in Australia, neither yellow people nor brown, black or red—only white, white is no color."[36] Through all these episodes, Riek learns about the world of adults, of the contradictions of colonialism and race, and of evil. Riek realizes that she herself loved Uncle Fred. It is when Riek acknowledges her desire that she begins to enter into sexual economies of exchange. Those economies are

frustrated when Uncle Fred dies and Riek learns to substitute commodities for her desire.

Finally, Riek's father and mother decide that Riek needs to begin her education, her European education. They argue over who will take Riek back to Holland, and the father says to the mother: " 'All right,' he said, 'as you like. I can't leave. You'll have to take her, then—because this business of hanging around and doing nothing except chat with the servants has to stop, is that understood?' " Riek must leave the world of her childhood, the world of the servants, and move into the adult world of capital. Riek, feeling sympathy for her father, decides impulsively that she must not take her mother away from her father to accompany her to Holland. She asks her mother for a velvet coat and then agrees, in exchange, to travel with some friends of theirs to Holland. She thus gives her mother back to her father in return for the coat. With this act, she has learned to accept the fetish for her desire. Like all the others who have left or died, she is going away too: "to die or to go away, it was the same" to Riek.[37] Riek, who feels she lacks her parents' love, now lacks the whole world of her childhood. As she moves into the world of capital and exchange, she carries with her the phantoms of all of those she has lost. She carries with her the loss suffered by Uncle Fred and Aunt Nancy, the torture and traumas of the colonial world that have no solution. She does not yet recognize her implication in the colonial world, but she does recognize the birth of her desire. For Dermoût, this gap, or delay, in Riek's awareness is hidden by the possibility of remembering and commemoration, as in the commemoration that Buyung enacts when the knowledge of Uncle Fred's death arrives. It is a Sumatran ritual song, performed throughout the night, where Buyung culminates his song in communion with Fred's spirit, the spirit of his lost master. By remembering and learning to commemorate as she grows up, Riek too could help to heal the wounds of losing the whole world she had known. These themes of desire, commemoration, and commodities reappear in Dermoût's second novel, *The Ten Thousand Things.*

The Prince and the Professor

In *The Ten Thousand Things,* there are no successful heterosexual relationships other than the tender relationship between the main character, Felicia, a Dutch woman who inherited from her grandmother a large old spice plantation, called "the Small Garden," on the island of Ambon (hereafter

"the Island"), and her son, Himpies, whose death forms one of the main sources of tension and power in the novel.[38] Felicia is born on the Island and lives there until she is seven or eight. Her mother, a rich woman because of her family's sugar business, has a serious disagreement with the grandmother over the mother's desire to rebuild a part of the old house that had burned down. When the grandmother says this is not possible because the grandmother had been forbidden to do so by her father, Felicia's mother, in a fit of anger, decides to take the family back to Holland. Seventeen years later Felicia returns to the Island with her small son, Himpies, as the grandmother made her promise to do when she was a small child. Felicia's husband had deserted her after the "sugary money" ran out, while she was pregnant with Himpies. She would never see the husband again, and, in time, she would become the Lady of the Small Garden as her grandmother was before her. Some have called the story of the grandmother, Felicia, and Himpies the frame story of the novel, which also tells three vignettes of murders on the Island that all take place in the same year.[39] Relationships among people, objects, and ghosts, and a deep search to understand the nature of desire form the core of *The Ten Thousand Things.*

Distinctions among the modes of desire that Dermoût explores in this novel continually overlap and blur. There is the desire of a servant named Constance in the second vignette for the *tifa* drums of the Natives, for example, or the desire of another servant, Pauline, for the beautiful Constance, whose story is also told in the second vignette. To fill her lack and loss, Felicia has the insatiable desire of the collector, and, in the years that her son, Himpies, studies in Holland, she travels around the Island buying old furniture, treasures, and antiques. Felicia does not respect the domain of tradition celebrated by her grandmother and wants the treasured objects to lose their aura, or power. But Felicia also remains ensnared in her desires for the past, for what she has lost. In the figure of the Professor, the first vignette below, *begeerte* (lust for wealth or sex) and *verlangen* (melancholic desire) merge as the Professor comes to the Island to collect specimens for a book, but also with physical desires to help, hold, or possess his Javanese assistant. He also longs for a world where those of the "spirit" might share in a Habermasian ideal-speech community. In the third vignette, the Dutch commissioner's desire includes both material and sexual desire: desire for pearls, money, and his young wife. The only character in the novel that does not have *begeerte* is Felicia's grandmother, whose treasures come "free as a gift for nothing to keep." The grandmother

anchors the novel's vision of the older economy of the Island: the importance of honoring debts and the weight of local tradition.

The strongest section of the novel concerns the relationship between a Dutch-speaking Scottish professor and his Javanese assistant, who works as a clerk for the government in Bogor. The professor and the clerk are making a trip to Ambon to prepare a new book on the flora of the island and to collect many of the specimens mentioned by the famous botanist Rumphius in his books on Ambon, written in the late seventeenth century.[40] Rumphius himself is a major presence in the novel, both as a historical character from the Island and a figure who draws together the main character, Felicia, and the Professor, as he is called throughout the book. The Professor, depicted as a caricature of a professorial type, is one of the five people murdered on the Island in one year in the novel, and Felicia honors all their deaths in the final chapter with her own private commemoration as she tries to unravel the intricacies of victim and murderer to come to terms with the death of her son.[41]

Dermoût"s portrait of the Professor's Javanese assistant Soeprapto, a minor prince from the central Javanese principality of Solo, is unforgettable. Soeprapto, whose parents died when he was very young, is called a "son" of the sister of the reigning Sultan of Solo, although she is not his actual mother. This mother figure is said to be of such high nobility that she is referred to with the masculine title of "Tuan Ratu," which Koning translates as "Sir Princess." Soeprapto has a picture of her that he cherishes, but he also sees what is behind the picture.

> Soeprapto looked at her [Sir Princess], at what was behind her: the country—his country—mid-Java, the Principalities—one mountain, the volcano, was in the photograph, but there was another. . . .
>
> The palace with nothing but *dark* straight definite lines. . . .
>
> The people, generation after generation of men and women, with their passions—but how controlled.
>
> *A gamelan played, dances were danced, songs sung, stories told, games played,* bound to old, old rules, approaching the perfect, never changing.[42]

Soeprapto knows that he will one day return to all of it. It was "his background, the basis of his life. . . . But not yet." For now he works as a clerk with the Government Agricultural Service in Buitenzorg, the present day city of Bogor.

Soeprapto's appearance is described in detail, confounding European gender constructions: "Yet he was not feminine in his gracefulness, it was a tense refinement of centuries, beyond masculinity or femininity."[43] Like a woman, his hair is hidden away under a kerchief, or Javanese head cloth; any stray hairs on his face have been plucked out to leave it fine and smooth. He wears only the finest Solonese batik, hand-picked by his mother, and always goes barefoot when indoors. He is handsome with a bent, almost Semitic nose, thought to be particularly noble and elegant in Java, where most people have smaller noses. But the greatest attention is drawn to his hands and feet, said to be *mooi* (beautiful) and *smal* (delicate). Everything about Soeprapto is repressed; great disappointments in life, including Sir Princess' inability to find the funds for him to stay in Leiden, where he had been sent to study, have left him devoid of feeling for anything and anyone. The opportunity to accompany the European Professor to Ambon is the first good thing that has happened to him in many years: "he was the man, for once it was he!"

The story of Soeprapto and the Professor is told through the eyes of Soeprapto, and it is through the eyes of high Javanese nobility that we first see the great European Professor. After the description of Soeprapto—his neatness, elegance, refinement, restraint—the Professor appears outlandishly coarse and absurd. He is too tall, too thin, too white with a tendency to turn bright red at the slightest provocation; he sweats profusely, constantly blows his nose, stutters, cackles, is ungainly and forgetful. He has red hair and a ridiculous long drooping red mustache, and thick glasses cover his expressionless blue eyes. Freckles and soiled clothing with sweat-stained armpits complete the picture.[44] When Soeprapto first meets him, the Professor wants to go with Soeprapto to central Java to meet Soeprapto's family; the thought of this meeting is so upsetting that Soeprapto almost cancels the entire trip until he realizes that he can just feign illness during the Professor's stay in central Java and meet him in Surabaya for the sailing to Ambon.

It is in this relationship between the severely repressed Javanese prince and the soiled, stained, coarse, and—as the reader learns—kind Professor, oozing bodily fluids at all times, that various colonial preconceptions are both reified and disturbed. American scholarship on Java took over the Dutch colonial idea of the refined Javanese upper-class man, with interest in mysticism and self-control rather than Islam or finance, into the 1990s.[45] Dermoût offers an extended commentary on Javanese aristocratic racism:

rather than the European trying to shield him- or herself from the pollutions of contact with hot-blooded and immoral Natives, as is more commonly found in the Indies Letters, we have the Javanese noble avoiding any sort of intimacy or physical contact with the once-revered and now all too physically present European Professor. And the Professor is clearly presented with his own excess of desire, represented by the fluids that always threaten to overwhelm the immaculate and fastidious Soeprapto.[46] There is homoerotic desire in the Professor's attempts at intimacy with his young Javanese assistant—described as so elegant and beautiful—but Soeprapto, perhaps recognizing and fearing this all-too-earthy sensuality, continually rejects the Professor's overtures—even his friendship—withdraws into silence, and distrusts his good intentions. In the—unbeknown to them—last days of their relationship, Soeprapto takes the Professor's hand for a moment to help him down the steps of a fortress, and from this brief physical contact something in his heart opens slightly as he feels himself worrying about the Professor's safety, walking unarmed and unaware through the Ambonese countryside. Soeprapto is then stricken with a particularly virulent strain of malaria, becomes unconscious and is confined to bed, and the Professor is murdered a day or two later in just the scenario that Soeprapto had envisioned. Soeprapto's awareness that his feelings toward the Professor had begun to change—after the first moment of physical contact—was so threatening to Soeprapto that he had made a decision to return to Java and refuse to continue as the Professor's assistant even though it would probably have cost him his bureaucratic job. One last scene of intimacy and rejection is recounted by Soeprapto as his fever abates. He realizes that in his efforts to care for his dangerously ill assistant, the Professor must have seen the picture of his mother that Soeprapto always kept hidden away in his dresser. Soeprapto feels this as yet another unbearable invasion of his privacy—unaware that the Professor has already been murdered.

Despite the negative views of the Professor presented through Soeprapto's eyes, Dermoût has great sympathy for this character, and the reader comes to see a kindly, prescient, and astute character who has understood the complexities of Soeprapto's problems and even found an answer to them.[47] The Professor tells Soeprapto a parable of another young Javanese prince who was offended by the way his father treated him and so set sail on a ship laden with all the necessities and a few close relatives.[48] The only thing he forgot was ballast; therefore, he had to use the earth of his land as ballast, and he traveled until he found a land with earth equal

in weight to the earth he had brought with him. The meaning of the story seems to hold for all travelers and seekers—they go far and wide but always must bring their past—identities formed out of desires, ethnicities, religions, hatreds—in the form of ballast with them, and they cannot build a new home until they find a land where these desires, hatreds, illusions are the same as in the old land. This is the story that Soeprapto takes to heart—especially after the Professor's death—along with another anecdote told by the Professor when he lectured Soeprapto about prejudice and hatred and told him that they, "*wij van de geest*" (we of the spirit), can throw away those limiting ideas of class, race, caste—like the ballast in the story—by venturing out into the cold to see for themselves the truth of things, even if only for a moment. Soeprapto was impressed and flattered to be included in the Professor's "we."

> He [the Professor] talked for a quarter of an hour without stopping, stuttered at times, cackled, winked—but the young Javanese sat motionless, fascinated; he was sitting in a room somewhere in a large university with many "young men of the spirit" (that's what the professor himself had said—we of the spirit). There was a deep silence, for here was the master speaking and they, they were the pupils and wanted to be; he too.
>
> For the first time Suprapto [*sic*] did not think, the clerk, the secretary, nor: the prince, but the pupil, *the pupil of Prikkebeen*—pupil was a good word, it didn't leave a bitter taste on the tongue.[49]

The character of Soeprapto is one of the most detailed emotional portraits of a Native to appear in the Indies Letters.[50] Unlike Multatuli's or Couperus' character types, Soeprapto has a complex personality. He is offended by the slightest hint of rejection or ridicule, and the reader feels his pain acutely. He is also a character who undergoes emotional change. At the end of the story, Soeprapto has changed for the better, and that change comes about through his relationship with the Professor. His class and race prejudice, the Professor's tale of the ballast, the reader's knowledge that the Professor has written to his sister Ursula to find the money to help Soeprapto continue his studies in Leiden—all this guides the reader to understand the change in Soeprapto's character, but is there any sign of change in the Professor? Despite the coarse and humorous ways in which we see the Professor, despite his disregard for danger, his fears of going

blind like Rumphius, he does not seem changed through his relationship with Soeprapto. He is murdered senselessly, while walking alone through the forest and gathering orchids, by four of the Island's Binongko people, who are not "of the island" but who come from neighboring islands and inhabit abandoned shacks—living, according to Dermoût, almost like animals. "They were in rags, almost naked, sitting motionless against the dark bamboo wall with which they did not contrast—they were so dark themselves, the small squat bodies, the immobile faces like brown clay, the black, stupid eyes staring ahead."[51] After bludgeoning the Professor, they tie him up in a sack and throw him into the sea. In the typical colonial attitudes of that period, Dermoût includes an idle comment of one of the members of the European club on the Island in reference to Soeprapto's untimely bout with malaria: "and his damned Javanese clerk had to pick that day to get sick!"[52] These images present one of the contradictions of Dermoût's work: she both critiques the racial attitudes of the time and perpetuates them as well, especially in her description of the Binongko people as primitive, dark, and unfeeling.

From one perspective, the Professor's death—and thus the death of his overwhelming desires—acts as the catalyst that enables Soeprapto's emotional change. And perhaps it is just this reversal of colonial relationships—Soeprapto's disgust with the Professor and his bodily fluids and desires, his cackling laugh, his obsession with Rumphius—that in turn frees the Professor from the burden, or ballast, of colonial culpability. In presenting a Javanese character, a Native, who is as racist as the Europeans—although powerless—Dermoût allows the Professor to shed some of his colonial guilt, and he is given a vision of the "mizzens," or jellyfish, described so eloquently by Rumphius even after the seventeenth-century author had gone blind. Little jewel-like creatures with streamers four or five feet long, the mizzens are able to raise their sails when they want and glide through the water in large groups; they are a beautiful transparent blue color with hints of green playing through the blue, and their white sails are edged with purple or violet. The Professor dreams that he sees the mizzens as they sail over and around him—a sight so beautiful and accompanied by a sound so piercing that it is almost painful to behold—and in that moment he comes to terms with his death by drowning that has been predicted for him by a *European* fortune-teller.

After he recovers from his illness, Soeprapto agrees to sail with a Dutch officer out to the seacoast to see if they can find the Professor's body

with the aid of one of the Binongko murderers and a sailor who speaks Binongko. Soeprapto tries to understand the now-lost Professor's desires. He asks the Dutch officer if the mizzens come to this part of the sea, and a conversation ensues between the Dutch officer and Soeprapto about Rumphius' description of the jewel-like little mizzens. The conversation, too long to quote here, is brilliantly written with the memorable words of the dead Professor interspersed with the conversation of Soeprapto and the Dutch officer, rising to a crescendo of feeling and then plunging into an abyss of misery. The Dutch officer is surprised that Soeprapto, a Native, knows about Rumphius' mizzens, and he assures Soeprapto that indeed the mizzens might sail through this part of the sea, thus fulfilling the Professor's dream of being in the water surrounded by the sea creatures.[53] Once again we have a moment of approaching equality, of forgetting the differences between East and West, as two people "of the spirit" share their knowledge of European science. But then Soeprapto asks how large the sails of the jellyfish actually are, and the Dutch officer, looking around for an object of comparison, sees Soeprapto's slim hands. Just a bit broader than your hands, says the Dutchman, and suddenly Soeprapto recollects the colonial relationship in the size of his hands compared to those of the Dutchman. His hands, which Dermoût has described as elegant and slender, remind Soeprapto of his status as a clerk, a clerk for the Government Agricultural Service at Bogor. And the story of the Professor ends as Soeprapto reacts to the reference of the Dutch officer to his small hands: "For a short moment it caused him an almost inhuman pain."[54]

It is easy to forget at this moment the status of Soeprapto vis-à-vis the rest of his countrymen. Not only is he of the highest Javanese nobility, educated for a time in Leiden, but he speaks fluent Dutch and has a respectable job, in the early twentieth century, working for the Dutch.[55] What are his desires? Why the inhuman pain? This last moment of pain is, in fact, only an epiphany of many moments of such pain that Dermoût describes Soeprapto experiencing in his relationship with the Dutch. Soeprapto resisted the desires of his own family by going to work for the Dutch and by acquiring a Dutch education. His hands have come to symbolize his deference to the Dutch and his status as a clerk, causing his pain and his inability to escape his past. Thus his mode of resistance to one form of oppressive power—his family—is to embrace another: the knowledge of the colonizers. His mode of resistance to the oppression of colonial power is silence and rejection. Here we must question if dichotomies like

domination and resistance or agency and acquiescence adequately describe Soeprapto's complex subjectivity and whether Dermoût's characterization in fact challenges these binaries within the world of colonial relationships. Or is this, in fact, the point? If Soeprapto in his position at the height of the Native population is able to feel "inhuman pain" because of a fleeting reference to the size of his hands, what does that imply for the plantation coolie, the village laborer, the ***pembantu*** (servant), and all those whose lives have been violated by the colonial regime or local forms of oppression?[56] This could have been a Fanonian moment for Soeprapto, but it is not yet his time.[57] He is too privileged in the colonial and Javanese hierarchies of his time, and the Fanonian realizations will come to those of slightly lower status, such as Tirto Adhi Soerjo, discussed in the next chapter. Soeprapto's desire is still to be the pupil of the Dutch. That is as far as he, or Dermoût, can see.

Native Desire and Colonial Longing

The story of Constance and the Sailor, another one of the vignettes of murder and desire that forms an episode in Dermoût's novel, approaches this question of Native desire from another point of view. The story is more a tale of unrequited love and female homoerotic desire than it is about the beautiful Native woman Constance and the Native sailor who becomes so intensely infatuated with her that he is driven to attempted murder by her indifference and arrogance. This episode in the novel is said to be one of the more autobiographical parts of the story, with a young Dutch official and his wife and their small daughter possibly representing the Dermoût family during their four-year stay on the island of Ambon.[58] The young Dutch couple is presented as very naïve—the husband in particular—and the story revolves around their relations with the host of servants that always formed part of colonial households. Constance comes to work for the Dutch couple through accidental circumstances. She is a woman of the Island—a designation reiterated throughout the book and one that holds special significance for those who reside on Ambon—and not part of the family of servants who have been hired to work for the couple under the management of the well-born Matheus, who should have been a ***rajah*** (local ruler) and not a servant at all, as the narrative voice tells it.

The description of the seven servants is a masterly portrait; all except Constance are related to the refined and elegant Matheus, Number One,

as he is called. One of the servants, named Pauline, falls in love with Constance, and Pauline, like Soeprapto, is very lonely.[59] Constance is brought into the household by Matheus when he needs a cook and must find one among the townspeople. She is described as not really beautiful but incredibly striking. Attention is drawn to her hands also; she walks slowly and rhythmically, as though her hands are particularly heavy. The lonely Pauline immediately falls in love with Constance and does most of the work around the house that Constance should be doing. Constance has had many lovers—and a hazy husband in her past—and all her lovers desire her greatly, but she cares little for them. Constance cares only for the *tifa*s (drums) and the rattan rope dance, where the men of the Island take turns pulling the rope to the beat of the drums, under the light of the flickering torches, on special nights in the town. When the men tire, the women come to dance to the beat of the drums—the song changes back and forth from the monotonous rope dance to several love songs—and

FIGURE 2 Maria Dermoût (née Ingerman) with her husband I. J. Dermoût, probably in Ambon, ca. 1910. Courtesy of KITLV Archive, Leiden.

the drums seem to put the women into a trance with their beat, tempo, and rhythm.

The description of the women and their dance is especially compelling. The women are arranged in squares of five by five or six by six; they are all dressed alike, and each has a large white cloth folded on her head. The young Dutch official and his wife come across the dancing women one night as they are walking through the town. The Dutchman is somewhat surprised to see the "beautiful" Constance among the dancers, but it is through the couple's colonial eyes that the reader sees the women dancers, and all of them begin to look alike. As they gaze at Constance, who is difficult for them to distinguish from the others, they see her staring blankly into the distance, sweat pouring down her dark, gleaming face.

> And she looked exactly like the woman next to her, and she like the one after her, and the one after her.
>
> They were no longer just rows of singing, dancing, clapping women—but a strange and unwieldy thing, a huge, dark square covered in white that was carried along in a torrent unable to move by itself—pulled along, moving forward and backward to the rhythm of the *tifa*s—just as the drums wanted it.[60]

This is an incredible image of colonial fears and a powerful portrayal of what Europeans saw as Native desire. All the Natives merge into one awesome powerful mass that will overcome the Europeans in a frenzied dance of violence. All Native individuality disappears into a series of replicas with no origin.

The Dutchman calls the spectacle *vervelend* (boring), but the wife knows better. She sees it as something dark and threatening—possibly exciting, rhythmic, and mixed with an ancient terror—but certainly not boring. This inability of the Dutchman to "see" what is happening around him reappears in this section of the novel several times, and always the wife has a sense of foreboding, an awareness of things beyond her understanding. The fears of the wife reappear when the sailor who is infatuated with Constance shows up with a knife to kill her, and the wife imagines all of them slain by the love-besotted sailor. But Pauline is able to grab the knife, the sailor goes away, and Constance comes to stay with the family for ten glorious days during which Pauline can care for her, massage her, oil her, bathe her, wash her clothes, and do her work.

> She [Pauline] "rubbed" Constance while she lay full length on the mat, especially the joints of the wrists and ankles because it's there that tiredness nestles, and also the back of the head at the hairline—that is where *people's* sorrows and worries hide themselves. Pauline could "rub" well, and she did it while singing in her deep voice all the songs, all the psalms she knew. . . .
>
> Constance didn't object.[61]

Finally the sailor leaves the island on his ship, and Constance returns to town only to be killed by her husband, who has reappeared and goes momentarily crazy when she taunts him mercilessly. The devastated Pauline refuses to believe Constance's husband has killed her, and she waits for the sailor to return to the island. After she wreaks her vengeance on him, Matheus takes her away, and the Dutch wife understands that Pauline will never return. The wife had noticed the change in Pauline after she had murdered or assisted in the murder of the sailor. Pauline appeared younger, relieved of all depression, as though she had been exorcised by the murder. But the young Dutch administrator understands nothing; he remains ignorant, unaware, out of contact with the society around him. In this episode, Native desire again perpetuates European stereotypes of hysterical woman, "primitive" passions, and colonial oblivion. Constance is unable to love people and only loves the drums. Pauline seeks violent revenge and refuses "rational" understanding. The colonial administrator refuses or is unable to see. And yet Dermoût portrays lesbian desire at a time when such portrayals were rare. Pauline and Constance are among the Native characters that Dermoût draws with feelings, desires, and some measure of agency.

Looking at colonial desire in yet another way, Beekman calls *The Ten Thousand Things* a celebration of Rumphius, the seventeenth-century German-born naturalist, mentioned above, who lived on Ambon for almost fifty years and spent many of those years in the service of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Rumphius is best known for his detailed descriptions of all the flora on Ambon. His celebration of even the smallest living creatures—like the Professor's beloved mizzens—serves as a parable for Dermoût's novel, especially within her Taoist-Buddhist worldview revealed in the title of her book and in the book's opening quotation from the eighth-century Chinese poet Ts'en Shen.[62] Dermoût also integrates Rumphius and his work into her novel through the "curiosities cabinet"

that the main character, Felicia, creates for her young son, Himpies, when he is around ten or eleven. Into this cabinet Felicia puts all the different kinds of shells that can be found on the Island and, in the spirit of Rumphius, creates a detailed story as a mnemonic device to help her son remember all the Dutch names.[63] Felicia's organization of the individual shells into a neat and orderly collection might be contrasted with the vision described above where all the Native women on the Island blend into one massive unwieldy pulsating image of desire. In the collection, according to Stewart, desire is quantified: "Desire is ordered, arranged, and manipulated, not fathomless as in the nostalgia of the souvenir."[64] The uncontrollable desire of the Native women cannot be ordered, arranged, and manipulated; it can only be witnessed. Native desire renders the colonizers powerless, even if only for a moment, while the collection empowers the collector in her ability to order and control the objects of her desire. Through the collection, Felicia can tame the power of the shells, their mystical power in which her grandmother believed.

In Felicia's curiosities cabinet, the move from cult value to exhibition value takes place exactly as described by Benjamin.[65] Objects that had been in the domain of "tradition" for her grandmother are now appreciated for their exhibition value rather than their aura or use value. Felicia's grandmother had her treasures in the form of magical stones, but Felicia has no treasures, only commodities that she has acquired and that fail to satisfy her so that she continually must seek more. As her grandmother is instructing Felicia in how Himpies should take care of the snakestone "treasure" that she wants him to have after her death, she explains: " 'When he has used it he must put it in milk to extract the venom—' she stopped suddenly—'don't you believe in the snakestone *with the lord Jesus on it* either, granddaughter?' " The grandmother suddenly realizes that Felicia will never accept the beliefs of the Island in the manner that the grandmother does. The grandmother tells Felicia more about her past: "And then she said, 'my mother came from here, from the Small Garden, and perhaps her mother—I don't know,' and she shook her head."[66] The grandmother is thus a mixed-race woman, related to both colonizer and colonized. As Yoder explains, it is the grandmother who teaches Felicia how to cook, to farm, to make herself known in town, how to trade, how to use medicines and herbs, how "to leave a space for the Other," and to remember the past or not to forget—"*vergeten dat is niet goed*"—and how to deal with *Fenijn* (Venom), the grandmother's name for evil in the world, by staying

proud.[67] Yoder sees the grandmother's reticence about her past, which she doles out to Felicia very sparingly, as a form of metonymic displacement that heightens the power of the displaced object. The grandmother reveals to Felicia a story of torture connected with the "Small Garden" where they live and its misfortune (D *ongeluk,* I *sial*), which has been handed down for generations. The grandmother's father was the older brother to three little girls who were poisoned in their youth. The murder was blamed on their Balinese nursemaid, a slave, even though she was innocent. What the grandmother finds unbearable is that they would torture a slave. The grandmother links the *ongeluk* of the house to the torture and disfigurement of the slave, who never confessed to anything. The grandmother says that her father made her promise never to rebuild the part of the house that had collapsed years ago and never to speak of the past, and that is also what the grandmother asks of Felicia: to remember and yet never speak of it. Thus the grandmother teaches Felicia to suppress and yet still pass on the trauma at the center of the narrative.[68]

In the grandmother's transmission of her trauma to her granddaughter lies the heart of the process explained by Nicolas Abraham in his work on phantoms. There are gaps and memories, entangled together, but they cannot be articulated by the receivers of the memories. "In point of fact, the words used by the phantom to carry out its return (and which the child sensed in the parent) do not refer to a source of speech in the parent. Instead, they point to a gap, they refer to the unspeakable."[69] Felicia as a child heard her grandmother's trauma in the words the grandmother said to her own daughter, Felicia's mother, but that the mother could not hear. The mother turned all her desire and lack into commodities, the sugary money. Felicia herself does and does not heed the words of the grandmother. She does not want to pass the knowledge of slavery, the poisoning of the little girls, or the *ongeluk* of the house on to Himpies—just as the grandmother did not want to pass the knowledge to her—and she does her best to confuse him about the sadness and misfortune that haunt the house. But, as Nicolas Abraham suggests above, she does not need to transmit the words themselves. Instead she transmits a gap, or a phantom, that will have an impact on Himpies' later life. Felicia sends Himpies to Holland for his education when he is around fourteen or fifteen, and tells him that he will have to stay away for at least eleven years so that he can become a doctor. When he objects that it is too long, she hides her pain under anger and reacts as the father did in *Only Yesterday,* discussed above,

when he decides to send his daughter Riek back to Holland for her education. Felicia says to Himpies:

> "What do you want then? Are you too much of a slacker to study? Oh, I know, you'd rather hang around on the Small Garden. Go native, walk around in a pajama, sell eggs and milk, and spices which nobody wants anymore! Shop around for a woman with some money, I guess"—she had almost said "sugary money"—"otherwise a plate of sago with a fried fish from the bay; is that what you want?"

When Felicia gets Himpies' letter during his first year at university, he has been away not quite four years. He says he will go to Breda to become a military officer instead of becoming a doctor, which takes so long. Felicia considers her desire for her son and his desire for the Island and then lets fate take its course. She does not remember until he actually returns the grandmother's warning that Himpies should never wear a military uniform because of an ill omen he had encountered as a child (see next section). "She [Felicia] saw the empty space where the old house had been—it was still almost bare—saw all of the other things, saw all the sadness, and it was as if it took a solid shape and threw a shadow over the Garden."[70] This third type of desire, *verlangen* in Dutch, is in contrast to Felicia's material desire that motivates her as a collector. In Dermoût's novel, the three kinds of desire—*lust* or *begeerte* (sexual), *begeerte* (material), and *verlangen* (melancholic)—coalesce to cause the deaths that Felicia commemorates in the last chapter of the novel.[71]

Dread, Time, and the Circulation of Commodities

When Felicia returns with her young son, Himpies, to the Island, she convinces her grandmother to join her in becoming a tradeswoman, something the grandmother previously found contrary to her beliefs. Felicia wants to sell the produce of their Small Garden, an old Dutch spice plantation, which is actually quite big. But the grandmother thinks that what the Garden provides came to them "free as a gift for nothing to keep." What convinces the grandmother is the debt that Felicia incurred for her trip back to the Island. A debt is very serious for the grandmother, and she knows that debts must be honored. Education is also serious, and the grandmother realizes that they must make the money to send Himpies

back to Holland for his education. So the two women become traders. They sell milk, eggs, salted duck eggs, vegetables, fruits, mushrooms, pickles, preserves, and mussel sauces. And they sell the secret things: medicinal herbs, dried scents, mixed incense, black coral bracelets for rheumatism, some with gold decor, and amber balls in gold-fretted fruits. "Those 'other things' eventually went everywhere, to the other islands and even farther, to Java and Sumatra and all the way to Malacca: most of the money was earned with them."[72] The Bibi, the name for the mysterious and dangerous tradeswoman in the story, first appears here since she sells the grandmother the ingredients for the secret things. She is a Muslim woman and a woman of power. Trade, Islam, and the Bibi come into focus at the same time.

No one can use the plate or cup that the Bibi uses when she comes to the Small Garden to trade because they might be cursed. The grandmother, also a woman of power, good power, is not afraid to shake the Bibi's hand. The Bibi brings temptation and desire with her. She sells fetishized commodities at exorbitant prices. The grandmother has the power to deal with the Bibi but Felicia does not, and, more important, Felicia neither understands nor respects the Bibi's powers. When left alone with her, Felicia always wants to ask the Bibi if the husband who deserted her and never saw her child is still alive, but she never does. Felicia thinks the Bibi knows such things. The Bibi has the power to make people who are not strong, like Felicia and Himpies, desire her things. The Bibi even has the power to turn Felicia against her grandmother, even if only momentarily. The desire she begets sows discord. Felicia desires two types of pearls that the Bibi brings to the house: pearls from the sea and pearls from the earth. "Pearls from the sea are tears that we will have to cry ourselves, and the others are tears which were once cried for us people by the prophet Mohammed." When the grandmother obstructs Felicia's buying the intoxicatingly beautiful "pearls from the earth," "Felicia pushed back her chair, got up, walked away without saying a word. She went around the house and into the wood, sat down on the edge of the cistern and cried—she who never cried—what was there to cry for? there was nothing to cry for; she did not want to cry—he there—where?—she here, and it was autumn and life was going by. . . ."[73]

Felicia becomes angry when her grandmother interferes with her attempt to purchase the "pearls from the earth." But the anger and desire that lead her to walk away has unexpected results. The Bibi is insulted, perhaps

also frustrated that she has not been allowed to make her sale, and she will curse the child Himpies the next time she comes to the Small Garden.

What leads to the climax of the Bibi's story is an unguarded moment when Felicia and the grandmother lose track of time and the Bibi arrives before they are ready. She is alone for a few minutes with the children, Himpies and his best friend, Domingoes, the son of the Native goldsmith who has been helping to make the gold-fretted fruits. Himpies, like his mother the time before, has a moment when he is overcome with desire, and he allows the Bibi to wind white porcelana shells around his body and especially his neck. "He did not look left or right, stood completely motionless, silent, with wide-open eyes, frightened and delighted at once—entranced by the splendor of the gleaming shell strings around him."

Himpies is transfixed in a moment of dread and enchantment. Domingoes warns him not to let the Bibi put the shells on him, but he does not heed the warning. His desire paralyzes him. When the grandmother appears, she is furious. She says to the Bibi that Felicia and Himpies are still *dom* (dumb) but that she and the Bibi are not:

> "We know—we have been taught—or aren't those the shell strings for the Mountain Alfuras of Ceram, for when they go head-hunting, when they lie in wait behind trees and shoot with arrows, when so much blood flows over the earth"—she took another step toward the bibi—"and you dare bring those shell strings here, here in my garden, to me, a white woman, a Christian woman, to our children here, who are Christian children who have done harm to no one—everyone has his own place, to each his own, that we know, you and I, that we have been taught! Or don't you know that yet? Haven't you been taught that?"[74]

The white porcelana shells that so upset the grandmother had once belonged to the mountain Alfura from the neighboring island of Ceram. The mountain Alfura still practiced head-hunting, on occasion, and the grandmother sees their shells as magical fetishes with bad omens. The grandmother calls the Bibi a "peddler woman," tells her most trusted servant Sjeba to make Himpies wash his hands with soap, and that is the last time the Bibi is allowed to come to the Island. Sjeba breaks the dishes that they have reserved for the Bibi's use. Once the Bibi can no longer return to the Small Garden, then they can no longer sell the things that require

her special ingredients. Himpies loses his best friend, Domingoes, when the goldsmith is no longer needed and the family moves away. Like Riek in *Only Yesterday,* Himpies has entered the world of adulthood: desire and loss.[75] When he returns as a soldier, Himpies will be shot in the neck by an Alfura warrior when he and his military unit are sent to try to curb the practice of head-hunting on Ceram.

Felicia's desire for pearls from the Bibi indirectly leads to her son's death; the desire for pearls also leads to the murder of the Commissioner, another character from a third vignette in the book. The Dutch Commissioner had once been an administrator in the Aru Islands, near Dobo, where the pearl fishers are, but he now has a bad name and no one knows why. He buys an old house on the Island and has it installed with many locks. "Having seen to all that, he went back to Dobo for his possessions: furniture, old china, the women, money, and the pearls."[76] The Commissioner locks up his women, money, and pearls in the house, but stories circulate about his supposedly beautiful, young mixed-race wife, fantasized as Middle Eastern but actually half Papuan and half Chinese, and the three older Papuan women who run the house and take care of her. The Commissioner mysteriously drowns or is murdered in the sea one day when swimming, and no one knows what has happened. The women are found locked up in the house, and the pearls and the money are in an ebony chest.

> When they opened the ebony chest it made a soft ping-ping, and in a drawer, itself locked, they found the pearls; and they were as it had been told—by whom?—a white string, a gray solitaire, and two pink ones.
>
> They also found a lot of money and papers. Most of the commissioner's capital was still in Dobo, lent at a usurious rate and managed by a Chinese.

After the story of the Commissioner has been told one way, the narrative voice warns: "No, no, don't believe it! there's not a word of truth in it—it's all lies!" Then the story is told again, and this time the four women are presented as those who murdered the Commissioner. For his pearls? His money? Because he locked them up? Because they hated him? The agency seen in the acts of violence recorded in *The Ten Thousand Things* is hidden, diffused, or, in the words of the four local women who, when interrogated by the police about their knowledge of the murder/death they may have committed, "No . . . yes . . . at times."[77] After being thoroughly

questioned and found innocent, the women leave the Island to go back to Dobo. The young woman, at least, is rich and freed from her prison.

These instances of loss, lack, and desire lead finally to the major question of Dermoût's novel: how to commemorate what has been lost. As Felicia frames it in her own life, she questions the distinction between *vermoorden* (being murdered) and *sneuvelen* (death in battle).[78] Himpies was destined in his youth to die at the hands of a mountain Alfura warrior. When he is shot through the neck by an Alfura warrior while laughing, Felicia cannot come to terms with his murder or any of the murders on the Island. Death she can accept—everyone must die—but murder is another thing, a loathsome thing, something that must not be accepted with equanimity. On her annual night of ritual commemoration for those on the Island who have been murdered, Felicia has two visions, the first of which gives her the opportunity to talk to the ghosts of the departed ones. In her conversation with her son, he tries to explain to her the need for the dead to use the word *sneuvelen*—death in battle—to describe their deaths. She speaks of murder, and her son says that the dead will never admit to that. He complains that he has tried to explain it to her but she will never listen. She always believes that it must be one or the other, but Himpies explains: " 'We are never only just murdered, we are always killed in battle too—don't be angry now because that's the way it is, really, the-one-and-the-other, my dear mother!' he had never said that to her before—"[79]

In her second vision of the night, where she sees the hundred times a hundred things of the world and their connections, Felicia gives up clinging to duality and is able to feel compassion for the murderers as well as their victims. She can finally understand the need to believe that the murdered have actually fallen in battle; it gives the subject a moment of agency at the instant of transformation into victim and celebrates the victim's desire to believe she or he has fallen in battle as a form of agency rather than a mode of opposition to it. Through her second vision, her fantasy of commemoration, of connection, Felicia produces a **secondary revision**: she imposes a narrative on the fragments of her relationship with her son and with other living and dead people from the Island. In this revision of her dream, Rumphius appears with the three little murdered girls and the married woman and her child with whom Felicia had thoughtlessly discouraged Himpies from getting involved. Felicia is released from the guilt and anger she feels and allowed "to drink her cup of coffee and try again to go on living."[80] But she still carries the phantoms, or tombs, in the

language of Abraham and Torok, of her grandmother, her lost husband, her parents, and Himpies inside her. "It is the children's or descendants' lot to objectify these buried tombs through diverse species of ghosts."[81] This is what Felicia has done in her phantasmic commemoration with those she has lost. In her visions, time collapses and people and things from the past and present mingle. This collapsing of time helps to heal the lost time, the losing track of time that produced the gap into which the Bibi slid with her porcelana shells and her abilities to incite desire. Through this gap in time, unable ever to be filled, the Bibi caused Himpies' death, leaving Felicia with only the phantom.

Is this mystical ending, this collapsing of time, a satisfactory conclusion to Dermoût's haunted novel of loss, desire, and commodities? Dermoût's vision is limited by the sudden end of the Dutch Indies marked by the Japanese invasion of 1942. The Indies world about which she wrote, a world to which she could never return, was gone forever. Thus the novel that tells the stories of death and loss is always about the death of Himpies and the death of the Dutch Indies. Each death recapitulates that loss and does not allow the time of the novel to move into the future. Until the waning years of the Dutch Indies empire, colonials like Dermoût saw the Indies as a settler colony—even though the number of Dutch in the Indies was minuscule compared to the overall population—a colony with a future for the Dutch.[82] Dermoût wanted the Indies to have a place for the Dutch and the **Indos** in the new Indonesian republic.[83]

Many of Dermoût's biographers and commentators cite a particular passage that Dermoût wrote, either in an interview or in her *dagboek* (secret diary), where she defends her work from the charge of (imperial) nostalgia. Part of this quote begins this chapter.

> And I have lived rather intensely through that past. That's why I can only write about *one* subject (that time [in the Indies], those days, over there), and never about a subject here and now. The tendency today is to live only in the present and to deny the past, that is gone, its value. That is to say yet again that we never remember and write about the past as it really was, we embellish it too much, make it up all over again. If you conceive of it purely geographically or historically, of course it is gone. I mean, I know that the Netherlands Indies is gone, but that's no reason to say it is gone from the lives of those Dutch people who have been in the Indies or who are still there.[84]

Dermoût felt a need to remember and perhaps revise the colonial relationship and her experience of it in her writing. During her youth, many of the Dutch people living in the Indies believed that they were part of the Indies. Dermoût herself claimed to feel free of racial prejudice. "We were close to the land and the people, that goes without saying, East and West was not a problem. Racial feeling, and not just to our credit, was really not like that. Every person their own worth, that we took in with our pabulum . . . and also that we must be grateful, I don't know how, that not all people on this earth are exactly the same."[85]

It is surely no coincidence that Dermoût makes racial difference a major theme in her work and that the issue continually resurfaces. She does not hide how Dutch people, especially those in Holland, thought and spoke about color and race in the early twentieth century, as illustrated above. But she claims that she herself felt differently about these issues. Dermoût and her family belonged to the group of colonials known as ***blijvers,*** those who saw the Indies as their home, compared with the ***trekkers,*** those Dutch who came to the Indies to make their fortunes and return to Holland. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the attitudes of the *trekkers* had gained ascendency over those of the *blijvers,* as racial attitudes in Europe changed and as more Dutch women came out to the Indies with their husbands in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the class of ***totok,*** or "pure," Dutch began to set standards and tastes.

Interracial marriages between Dutch men and Native women—the reverse is rarely talked about, but it existed—so common for centuries in the Indies, were no longer the norm, although they continued up until the end of the colonial period.[86] The casual attitudes toward racial mixing of the old colonial families—and Dermoût's colonial family may have been exceptionally tolerant in its attitudes—were seen as socially compromising back in Holland. The adoption of local ways by the Dutch men coming to the Indies and by those Dutch women born and bred in the Indies—wearing local clothes, eating local food, napping in the afternoon, gender segregation, and other long-standing habits—were looked down upon. Baron Frederik van Asbeck, who was close to the liberal, neo-ethical intellectuals who published the periodical the *Stuw* (Dam), in a personal letter to a friend about Dermoût's work, explained that Dermoût belonged to the special group of *blanke blijvers* (whites with deep pasts in the Indies), grown together with the land and sitting above the people whom they knew so well but to whom they did not belong and toward whom they

acted in a paternalistic way.[87] By this he meant the common people because it seemed clear to him that the Dermoûts did not know any of the contemporary nationalistic Indonesians who hated the Dutch *blijvers* (settlers). Van Asbek, writing in the 1950s, doubted that the Dermoûts had ever met a nationalist. He said that they (or she) may have loved the Indies, but they were far from the "Indonesian" Indies. He also doubted that they had any idea of what the Western-educated Indonesians thought. Even so, he said, he and his wife still loved Dermoût's work and found it "pure and translucent as a [water-filled] rice field in the very early morning."[88]

Since the Dermoûts left the Indies in 1933, when the colonial government had been cracking down on all the noncooperating nationalist groups for several years, and because Isaac Dermoût himself was an important member of the colonial government, it is highly unlikely that the Dermoûts were not very aware of the nationalist movement. Because of Isaac Dermoût's high administrative position, he may not have been sympathetic to the nationalists and their cause. In *Only Yesterday,* the young girl Riek's sympathy lies with the servants against the local sugar workers, those burning the cane fields, who Riek fears want to kill all the Europeans; that fear is everywhere around her. Yoder argues that, in *The Ten Thousand Things,* Felicia's characterization as someone who hesitates, who is never sure, who doesn't know the right words, allows the reader to "give voice to and to remember the people whose names and lives are left out of the history of colonialism." Through her metonymic narrative analysis, Yoder suggests that Dermoût frees the voices of the colonized others who were murdered, tortured, and forgotten. Dermoût, Yoder concludes, like many other authors, is in search of a postcolonial narratology through which to remember "so that it will not happen all over again."[89] I am not so sure that Yoder's "it" coincides with Dermoût's views of the colonial relationship. But I am convinced that Dermoût's politics were focused on the struggle against racism, against evil, and against the idea that there is nothing to be done about them. Dermoût considered the Indies her home, and from her work the strong message comes through that she believed that Dutch and Indonesians could find a way to live together in harmony. Her work is surely a testimony, a situated testimony, to a particular historical past.

In the works discussed here, I have explored Dermoût's efforts to commemorate the Dutch colonial past, both its evil and its beauty. Her first novel, *Only Yesterday,* ends on a note of overwhelming loss, and her second novel, *The Ten Thousand Things,* ends with a vision of mystical oneness.

Both novels suggest the possibility of love overcoming racial prejudice. Scholars Vicente Rafael and Elizabeth Povinelli have each discussed the circulation of discourses of love in the imperial field. Rafael equates "white love" with benevolent assimilation in his reading of American women's letters about colonial domesticity in the early-twentieth-century Philippines: "They reiterate the fantasy . . . the exchange of white love for brown affection." One of the two sites where Povinelli situates her recent study of love and intimacy is the settler colony of a group of indigenous peoples in the Northern Territory of Australia, and she explores how the people she studies have resisted what she calls the "politics of cultural recognition." Povinelli concludes that acknowledging tradition is a double bind for the indigenous people she has lived among and with whom she has carried out research for twenty years: "Dehumanization is the price they must pay for even the most remedial forms of recognition. In short, they are presented with a mirror that is actually a double bind—either love through liberal ideals of self-sovereignty and de-culture yourself, or love according to the fantasy of the unchanging dictates of your tradition and dehumanize yourself."[90]

Both Rafael and Povinelli see love and racial difference situated within an imperial field saturated with other forms of difference. Do Dermoût's depictions of love, race, and intimacy in the colonial Indies reinscribe or unsettle the contradictions of a liberal "ethical" colonial or neoliberal postcolonial order?

Most of Dermoût's characters are firmly embedded in the liberal capitalist economy of their time. Dermoût does not present an alternative vision of the colonial economic order, only a sense that there was an earlier form of trade and an earlier code of ethical life in the islands. The character who represents this earlier order is Felicia's grandmother from *The Ten Thousand Things,* a woman of power who believed in a mystical world that Felicia could only glimpse. The grandmother had certainties most of her life, and those certainties were learned from her servants, particularly those servants who also who became her friends.[91] These certainties included a belief in *Fenijn,* Venom, which had to be resisted by remaining proud and courageous, by doing something about the evil in the world. Yoder links the memory and power of the grandmother's idea of Venom to commemoration as one form of resistance against both the Venom and its forgetting—that was why the house could never be rebuilt and the story of the slaves had to be remembered but never spoken.[92] Although Felicia

resists this at first, after her son's death she learns to commemorate in her own way, linking her particular remembrance of the murdered and the murderers with that history of Venom.

But this world of Felicia's grandmother is gone. It passed away with the death of the grandmother and with Himpies' death, since Felicia is the end of her line. Dermoût cannot envision an alternative future because there was no future for the Dutch Indies. She can only remember, commemorate, articulate the loss. Writing two novels whose overwhelming themes include lack and loss, Dermoût's work makes a small statement. Race or color, sexual orientation or status may make a difference to others, but in intimate relationships none need matter. This is where Dermoût's particular resistance to the colonial order lies. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, for Dermoût "it is always just a question of people." Dermoût's answer to the questions of race and empire are the same as her answer to all the questions that her work poses: *het-een-én-het-ander,* the one *and* the other. Racial inequality and colonial cruelty will continue to exist in different forms and in different ways, and her novels diminish phantoms from the colonial past only if interpersonal love has the power to change imperial and neoliberal societies and economies. This reading would concur with Nicolas Abraham's idea of incremental truth-telling. "Reducing the 'phantom' entails reducing the sin attached to someone else's secret and stating it in acceptable terms so as to defy, circumvent, or domesticate the phantom's (and our) resistances, its (and our) refusals, gaining acceptance for a higher degree of 'truth.' " Abraham suggests that, through this incremental work, a "measure of wisdom is acquired."[93] If Dermoût believes in incremental truth-telling, it lies in her small stories of rewriting colonial relationships as she did in the relationship between the prince and the Professor in *The Ten Thousand Things.* But such relationships can also be seen as examples of colonial paternalism or remainders of early-twentieth-century Dutch "ethical period" hypocrisy. The imperial field distorts these relationships, making equality impossible, and thus rendering Dermoût's portraits of interpersonal love flawed.

Incoherencies, disruptions, and disturbances, and the lack of self-understanding afflict many of Dermoût's characters. These characters are firmly embedded in imperial worlds and liberal economies, but they lack self-understanding. Riek's parents, Felicia, and the Professor, among others, remain unaware of their phantoms, the tombs they carry and pass on to their children. The grandmother in *The Ten Thousand Things,* despite

her wisdom, remains uneducated about the future of the colonial order and its coming demise. Dermoût fails to address, to accept, the idea of an Indonesia for Indonesians before World War II and the inevitable realization of that idea. Like the grandmother, Dermoût herself is unwilling to say the words, fill the gaps, admit the phantoms. But she does more than remember or recognize: she commemorates. This raises the question of whether Abraham's incremental truth-telling can work in the imperial field where people, commodities, hatreds, and phantoms circulate. Can one reduce the sin attached to someone else's secret? I do not think Dermoût believes one can. By evoking the colonial past of *tempo doeloe,* its languages, its social lives, its economies, its loves and desires, and its evils, Dermoût's works are situated testimonies, commemorations of *tempo doeloe,* and colonial critiques.

CHAPTER 2

At Home and Not at Home in Empire:

Transnational Phantasies of Colonial Modernity

> Hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences. (Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*)
>
> Can we afford to leave anxiety out of the story of the empire? (Guha, "Not at Home in Empire"

If Maria Dermoût both refuted and commemorated her awareness of the politics of empire, the same cannot be said for Louis Couperus, arguably one of Holland's most prolific and respected authors. Couperus firmly rejected the career in the Indies colonial service that he was groomed for by his family and felt no compulsion about exposing the decadence of the Dutch imperial bureaucracy. Dermoût was a writer of Indies Letters, but Couperus' inclusion as an author of Indies Letters is based on only one of almost forty novels that he wrote during his lifetime (1863–1923). Couperus thus stands within the mainstream of Dutch *literatuur* (literature) rather than writing "only" *Indische Letteren,* as Dermoût did. Couperus spent five and a half years of his adolescence in the Indies, and he said those years had profound effects on his life and development. In 1899, at the age of thirty-six, he spent another year in the Indies—where he began his celebrated Indies novel of 1900, *De stille kracht* (The Hidden Force)—and he returned once again for several months near the end of his life.[1] Couperus came from a prominent family of colonial bureaucrats, old Indies hands who retired to Den Haag, after either a few years or a lifetime spent in the Indies.[2] Many cite Couperus' *Haagsche romans* (Den Haag

novels), which captured habitual life in and around Den Haag at the turn of the last century, among his best works. These works include *Eline Vere* (1889), *The Books of Small Souls* (four volumes, 1901–1902), and the 1906 novel with a truly untranslatable title, *Van oude mensen, de dingen, die voorbij gaan* (Old People and Things That Pass Them By). Before Couperus, the Dutch literary scene had been centered on Amsterdam, and Couperus is credited with putting Den Haag on the literary map.[3] In addition to being a writer of Indies Letters and a celebrated author of Dutch literature, Couperus is also included in the small circle of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century writers of "decadent" literature, as it was called at the time.[4] Married to a close cousin and considered a dandy, Couperus was also known as an effeminate writer. Because decadence and effeminacy were dangerous forms of recognition in his day, especially if equated with homosexuality, Couperus kept his personal life hidden.

Dutch *metropolitan* culture, as portrayed in Couperus' novels of Den Haag, makes an interesting comparison with Dutch Indies *colonial* culture, as depicted in the novellas and essays of Tirto Adhi Soerjo, upper-class

FIGURE 3 Performance of a play, *Esther,* in Tegal, Java, with Louis Couperus in the center as King Assuérus, ca. 1899. Courtesy of Rob Niewenhuys Collection, KITLV Archive, Leiden.

Javanese journalist, editor, and fiction writer of the early twentieth century. In Tirto's day, there was a blending of various forms of Malay that were circulating in the Indies, but Tirto's revolutionary literary language was a form of resistance to Dutch, Dutch-sponsored literary Malay, and the long-lived Malay of Dutch colonial command. Many people have become familiar with Tirto through his fictional fabrication as the character Minke, an early nationalist leader, in the *Buru Quartet* of Pramoedya Ananta Toer. I explore the writings of Tirto and Pramoedya's biography of Tirto in this chapter, and I return to Pramoedya's fictional portrayal of Tirto in Chapter 5. Both Couperus and Tirto turned away from careers in the civil service of the colonial Indies that their families wanted them to pursue, and both became prolific writers of fiction and nonfiction. Themes of imperial modernity and sexual degeneracy permeate the works of both, producing *angst* (dread) and melancholia in the work of Couperus and haunting anxiety in Tirto's fiction, too, despite the author's enchantment with capital, media, and fashion.[5]

After being called upon for information and protected by the Dutch Governor General J. B. van Heutsz (r. 1904–1909) in the first decade of the twentieth century, Tirto was rejected by the new colonial administration, attacked by his enemies, and exiled from Java after van Heutsz left office in 1909. In Couperus' novels, melancholic repetitions and images quilted over the connections between the decadence of both Dutch and Indies colonial bureaucracies and phantasies and phantoms of empire. Tirto's outspoken essays published in his various newspapers quilted over his recognition of his own complicity with colonialism even as they sutured Indies subjects into Tirto's visions for the future of Hindia Belanda, the Dutch Indies. Tirto's great disappointment lay in the Indies government's failure to recognize his nobility, his modernity, and his cogent understanding of Dutch ideas of Java's backwardness. Tirto believed this backwardness was rooted in the incompetent collaborations between the Dutch and Javanese civil servants who ran the colonial regime. This chapter probes questions of phantoms and **phantasms**, time and its disjunctures that disturb present and past, as well as questions of memory and trauma. But to read of Tirto's own trauma and melancholia, one has to turn to Pramoedya Ananta Toer's fictional and biographical studies of Tirto's life, written in the late 1970s and early 1980s, both during and after Pramoedya was himself exiled from Java in 1969. Pramoedya's experience of exile enabled him to create phantasies of Tirto's trauma that may have mirrored Pramoedya's

own experiences. These phantasies are all that connect us to Tirto's unspoken scenes of colonial trauma. I trace the transnational movement of bodies, fashions, phantasies, and memories between colony and metropole by analyzing the fiction of Tirto and Couperus as "situated testimonies" in fin-de-siècle Dutch and Dutch Indies literary and historical archives.

Trauma, Hypnosis, and Phantasies

In the same fin-de-siècle period that Couperus and Tirto were writing their literary works, new discourses regarding memory and trauma and their treatment by hypnosis and catharsis were developing in France, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. Freud was only one of many neurologists working in this field in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and newer evaluations of Freud's oeuvre see psychoanalysis as both a colonizing discourse and a postcolonial method of literary analysis.[6] Yet late-nineteenth-century debates over connections between trauma and hysteria can be useful in tracing the hysterical behaviors and the return of traumas experienced by Couperus' characters in his novels of Den Haag and the Indies. Freud commented on the need to distinguish traumatic neuroses from traumatic hysteria in his work with Josef Breuer in 1895.[7] But Couperus' ideas about hysteria and hypnosis seem more similar to French ideas on these topics, as represented in the work of Jean-Martin Charcot, in Paris, and in that of Charcot's rival Hippolyte Bernheim, in Nancy, in their debates of the late 1880s and early 1890s. The young hero of Couperus' *Small Souls* quartet is a physician who uses hypnosis and treats patients afflicted with hysteria and traumatic neuroses. Couperus and Tirto Adhi Soerjo were writing their essays, novels, and novellas at the same time that these discourses of trauma and neurosis were coming into focus in the emerging European "science" of psychoanalysis.

I am not arguing that either Couperus or Tirto read Freud's works, but I am suggesting that Couperus' work, in particular, both drew on and depicted the emerging discourses of trauma and hypnosis that were circulating in turn-of-the-century Europe. At a time when Freud's world—the Austro-Hungarian Empire—was falling apart, questions of empire were intertwined in these emerging discourses in France and Holland.[8] In Holland colonial questions were debated in government and nongovernment forums and appeared in turn-of-the-century literary works. I build on the theorization of phantoms and transgenerational haunting from the

work of Abraham and Torok, discussed in the previous chapter, and add the notion of phantasies and phantasms, or hallucinations, that characterized the victims of trauma and neuroses in Freud and Josef Breuer's work on hysteria and in Freud's later works. Combining the ideas of phantom and phantasm makes the study of trauma, anxiety, and melancholia more complicated, but it also reflects the tensions that animated the fiction works by Couperus and Tirto. The unspoken secrets, which were often locked in unreachable crypts in the work of Dermoût, escaped and blossomed, in these fin-de-siècle literary works, into *colonial* phantasies: ideas of racial degeneration in the Indies, the early sexual maturation believed to be prevalent in the Indies, and the connections between phantasies and melancholia.[9]

Lingua Franca Malay and Minor Literatures

The Indies Letters, as I have suggested, can be seen as an example of a "minor literature" within the Dutch literary archive. Here I situate the Malay-language writings of **Raden Mas** Tirto Adhi Soerjo in another kind of minor literature: that written in the Sino-Malay language, or **lingua franca Malay**, as Pramoedya Ananta Toer named it, spoken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in towns and cities of the straits of Malacca, in Batavia, and in other port cities of Java, Sumatra, and the eastern islands of the Indies.[10] Chinese and then Eurasian authors were the first to begin writing novels in this spoken language in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Sometimes this new style of Malay was called "market Malay" to distinguish it from the "literary Malay" written in the Malay Sultanates of Riau and Johor and then in British Malaya.[11] Whether literary Malay was ever a commonly spoken language is difficult to determine, but it was certainly the language of Malay storytellers (*penglipur lara,* the soother of sorrows).[12] When British scholars spoke of Malay literature in colonial Malaya in the nineteenth century, they included the ***hikajat*** and *tjerita* (narrative prose, tales, and stories), *sjair* (rhymed poetry, ballad), and *pantoen* (short rhymed poetry) literature that was commonly recited, performed orally, and inscribed in written forms.[13] Muhammad Haji Salleh has described this literary Malay as a language of melancholy, or *nestapa* (sorrow).[14] In contrast, the written language of the early Sino-Malay novels, often translations from classics of Chinese literature and eventually translations from European literatures as well, emerged from the popular language of the early Malay newspapers as well as from Eurasian and European travel

reports and diaries.[15] These early Sino-Malay and Eurasian novels usually retained honorifics and other stylistic devices from the *hikajat* literature of British Malaya and the archipelago. But the words of sorrow and longing, which Salleh emphasized in his lecture on the melancholy aesthetics of oral and written literary Malay, rarely appeared in the Sino-Malay of the newspapers or in the novellas of Tirto Adhi Soerjo. The hybrid language of the Sino-Malay newspapers published in the Dutch Indies in the second half of the nineteenth century, the topic of my discussion here, included words from Chinese, Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese, Javanese, Sundanese, Persian, Tamil, English, and French, depending on where it was spoken. Following the example of the Chinese writers, late-nineteenth-century Eurasian and then Javanese and Sundanese writers used this hybrid Sino-Malay, if they could master it, for their novels and short stories. This form of Malay was different from the simplified form of "command," or *dienst* (Dutch for "service"), Malay that had been the language of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy in the Indies for centuries or the various forms of Malay spoken in Sumatra, on the peninsula, and in other parts of British Malaya.

Tirto Adhi Soerjo was one of the first Javanese, as opposed to Chinese or Eurasian, writers to take this popular language of the streets and of journalism, his own included, and use it to write short stories and novellas in the first decade of the twentieth century. A different form of literary Malay that Dutch scholars had nurtured from the middle of the nineteenth century, with little success, was the Riau, or Malacca-style, Malay that was seriously promoted by the Dutch colonial publishing house **Balai Poestaka**, or (earlier) the Commissie voor de Volkslectuur (Bureau of Popular Literature), in the early decades of the twentieth century.[16] The Malay of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy and the Riau Malay of the colonial Balai Poestaka at first had to cede to Tirto's revolutionary Malay and that of his younger colleague Marco Kartodikromo (1890–1932). Eventually the forces of the Balai Poestaka and its publication and celebration of Sumatran writers, for whom Malay was often a first language, succeeded in representing itself as a desirable literary language in the 1930s, when all the noncooperating nationalists had died or been exiled. But the spoken language was always more informal than the written one, and Javanese, Chinese, Dutch, and Sundanese influences made "Indonesian" Malay continue to develop as a hybrid language.

Tirto's Malay was a political language, one of the three criteria of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's conceptualization of minor literatures.[17]

Tirto's Malay was also deterritorialized, Deleuze and Guattari's second criterion, spoken in places throughout the archipelago alongside various local languages as well as Chinese and European ones. Tirto's Malay also fit into Deleuze and Guattari's third criterion in that it was a literature of collectivity but not of identity, an inclusive language but one that did not seek to promote liberal autonomous subjectivity.[18] But if this "wild" Malay was a minor language used to create a minor literature, what was the major language from which it deviated? Many variants of Malay circulated in British Malaya and the Dutch Indies world in the early twentieth century, and scholars of Malay studies have not yet decided which, if any, dialect or style was dominant. As a lingua franca, Malay was always changing and incorporating new words, phrases, and colloquialisms. In 1928 the young nationalists rejected the Dutch language, and the *sumpah pemuda,* or youth oath, proclaimed the heteroglossic-style Malay as the language for the new idea of "Indonesia" and the vehicle for its literature. Tirto's style of Malay was eventually assimilated along with other forms of Malay into "Indonesian" Malay in the 1930s and 1940s and into the national language of the postcolonial state.

Tirto Adhi Soerjo

> The newspapers and magazines had given birth to a democratic spirit, in spite of the government's wishes. . . . The face of the Indies was changing as more and more printing presses were established and more Natives could read and write. And in all this, there was one person whose role was not small—in fact, he played the leading role. Yes, him! He's the one: Minke.[19]

Tirto Adhi Soejo (1875?–1918), the inspiration for the hero Minke of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet,* was born in Blora, central Java, into a family of Javanese **Bupatis** (**Regents**), elites who cooperated with the colonial government and who, in return for their cooperation, received salary, honor, and prestige in the colonial Indies.[20] For these rewards, the Javanese **prijaji** (bureaucracy) had to perform obsequious rituals of ***hormat*** (deference) to the Dutch bureaucrats above them. They, in turn, demanded similar behavior from their inferiors. At the end of the nineteenth century, some of the sons of these elite families were able to receive a Dutch-language education—the key to success in the early-twentieth-century

Indies—occasionally even in Holland. Tirto's family background is obscure, his date of birth in either 1875 or 1880 is debated, and his parents seem to have died early. Either because he was not well treated by his relatives after the death of his parents or because of a disgraceful dismissal of his grandfather, a Javanese Regent in the late nineteenth century, by the colonial government, Tirto turned vehemently against the civil service and saw it as an obstacle to Indonesian modernity.[21] Tirto spent almost six years studying at the Dutch-language medical school in Batavia (STOVIA), often the school of choice for poorer young men, but never completed his degree and turned to journalism in 1894 to support himself.[22] Tirto believed that his decision not to enter the colonial bureaucracy enabled him to socialize on a more equal level with Dutch, Eurasian, and Native elites in the Indies. Tirto was the first Native in the Indies to edit and own newspapers, allowing him more journalistic license, and, as mentioned above, he was protected for five years by the so-called ethicist Governor General van Heutsz. Van

FIGURE 4 Tirto Adhi Soerjo from Toer's *Sang Pemula* (The Pioneer). Courtesy of Hasta Mitra, Jakarta.

Heutsz was celebrated for having ended the disastrous Dutch war with the Sultanate of Aceh by using a range of strategies: military violence, his acceptance of scholarly advice from the Dutch Islamicist C. Snouck Hurgronje, and his successful efforts to split the local ***ulama*** (Islamic leaders) from the ***uleëbalang*** (secular leaders). Aceh was finally brought under Dutch control by 1903, although the resistance to the Dutch continued into the independence period and beyond.[23] It was during van Heutsz' time as Governor General that Tirto was able to attack and satirize corrupt officials, Dutch, Eurasian, and Native, whose behavior, he believed, was detrimental to the development of the colonial state. Tirto's life has been lifted out of obscurity and celebrated in fiction and nonfiction by Indonesia's famous writer and scholar Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925–2006). Pramoedya's construction of a small archive of Tirto's writings has enabled scholars to read and appreciate Tirto Adhi Soerjo's contributions to the study and enrichment of the Malay language, its press, and the emergence of an Indies nation. But Pramoedya's phantasies about Tirto's last years, discussed in Chapter 5, may be more a reflection of Pramoedya's own life than a record of Tirto's.

Turn-of-the-Century Life in Batavia (Betawi)

> The city of Betawi had been thoroughly transformed by beautiful decorations. The house of the Governor General had been decorated with flowers and a gleaming new gate had been constructed to the right of the house, in front of the office of the Secretary General. In the middle of the intersection, in front of the house, a water fountain had been built. The park on either side of the fountain had been replanted and some red, blue and green coloured electric lights had been put up. People loved seeing the spectacle these lights made at night when they were switched on. . . . In Pasarbaru people were inspecting a new Chinese style archway. It was very beautiful and inscribed with the words: *Hulde aan hare Majesteit Koningin Wilhelmina, Keizerin Van Insulinde.* Further along, past the house of the captain of the Chinese community, there was another archway that displayed the symbol of Betawi, a blade surrounded by a garland of flowers, with nymphs on either side blowing trumpets.[24]

> They had been living for five years in Den Haag, after Papa had been governor-general for five years. . . . She [Constance] recalled that time

> of the governor generalship—she then a young girl of twelve to seventeen—the grandeur of it all: the palaces at Batavia and Buitenzorg; their country house at Tjipanas; the balls she attended, young as she was; the races; the aides-de-camp; the gold of the royal parasol: all the tropical grandeur and semi-royalty of a sovereignty over grand colonies.[25]

Tirto's and Couperus' literary descriptions of Batavia at the turn of the last century capture the ways in which both Dutch and Indies upper-class writers endowed the colonial government with both authority and glamour, ironically in Tirto's case and nostalgically in Couperus'. In both views, what goes on in the palaces is hidden from the people, and, in Couperus' novels, the "people" are hidden from the "semiroyal" activities of the Dutch rulers. Tirto's novella *Tjerita Njai Ratna* (Story of Njai Ratna), published as a feuilleton, or serialized story, in his own newspaper *Medan Prijaji* (Upper-Class World) during 1909, told a tongue-in-cheek tale of a figure well known today to educated Indonesian and Indonesianist audiences, the immoral—but not necessarily uneducated—Native woman, or ***njai***, who served as a mistress to rich, often unmarried, men in the European, Eurasian, and Foreign Oriental communities of the Indies. In Tirto's story, the faithful and beautiful Ratna was abandoned by her first husband, a Sundanese engineer, for a wealthy woman, and Ratna, then a divorcée, had little choice but to become a *njai* to a European or enter into a polygamous relationship with a Native.[26]

Ratna's family forces her to become the *njai* of a Dutch sea captain who offered them a substantial payment for her. She soon becomes unfaithful to her Dutch master when she falls in love with a Native medical student named **Raden** (lowest title of Javanese nobility) Sambodo. The novella suggests that Ratna and Sambodo have idealistic ideas of "true love" even though social circumstances prevent them from being together. They do, however, have a year or so during which they stroll or ride through the streets of Batavia and then travel into the heartland of Java, visiting various monuments and markets, just like tourists.[27] Following Tirto's characters as they move through the streets of Batavia draws the reader into a seductive world of possibilities for economic and sexual freedom and mobility for some Indies subjects in the early years of the twentieth century. Couperus' characters are moving through the streets of Den Haag at around the same time, but, rather than enchantment, they are full of cynicism, melancholia, and delusional madness. Although Tirto's heroine Ratna is a Sundanese

village woman, she looks like a "half-caste European," a ***njonja***. Ratna dresses in a Dutch-Sundanese fashion of *kebaja* and *sarong,* the clothing for Native women as well as Eurasians and some Dutch, along with Dutch shoes and jacket. Her hair is done up in a bun in Dutch or Eurasian style. Ratna sees Raden Sambodo drive by in a horse-drawn cart and falls passionately in love with him at first sight. The young Raden dresses in hybrid Dutch-Javanese clothing: a batik with a noble design, Dutch shoes with black socks, a white smoking jacket, a new shirt, and a black tie. Ratna is particularly attracted by his lorgnette.[28]

Ratna orders her cart driver to follow him. Sambodo, too, is immediately attracted to her, or what he perceives to be her desire for him. When he realizes that she is pursuing him, he phantasizes that she is in love with him. Finally, Sambodo tells his driver to stop, and he addresses her in Dutch because she appears to him as a Eurasian or even a European woman because of her clothing and beauty.

> When the young man continued to speak in Dutch, Ratna interrupted, "Sir, I'm not a European."
>
> From her accent the young man realized that she was Sundanese.
>
> "Would you mind if we became acquainted?"
>
> "If I did would I have chased you this far?"[29]

The humor and brazenness of Ratna in this scene is startling, although typical for Tirto's writings, and it is the beginning of their ill-fated affair. After they have been lovers for a while, Sambodo chides Ratna for cheating on her Dutch captain, and she dismisses his accusations with a racialist argument, more interested to know with whom *he* has been flirting.

> "Oh, come on. Stop it. Who cares about him [the captain]? He's of a different race [*bangsa*]. Who knows, he probably already has a wife. Don't go on and on. Who was that woman?"[30]

When Sambodo accuses her of smiling at him first when they met, Ratna defends herself by arguing that she looked at him "because you looked at me. Look, let's face it, who would want you? You are so dark." Here the complex colonial discourses of race and color are used between members of the same ethnic group. When Sambodo tells Ratna not to be extravagant in case of misfortune, after they catch sight of her former

husband with his new wealthy wife, she responds: "I don't care about wealth. The most important thing is love. Wealth can disappear in an instant, don't you agree?"[31]

By this logic of love, Ratna feels entitled to cheat on her Dutch sea captain. Her reasons include his racial difference, his long physical absences, and her love for Sambodo. Even when the captain is in town and sleeping in their bed, Ratna sneaks out to make love with Sambodo. The Dutch captain, portrayed as dense and gullible, allows Sambodo to stay at the house since Sambodo is passed off as Ratna's cousin. The lively story continues as Ratna and Sambodo, although still in love, become separated, Sambodo finds other lovers before he marries a nice village girl, and Ratna's sea captain dies and all his money is lost. Ratna goes to work for a rich old European man, who marries her after two years, and then she poisons him at the instigation of a greedy European couple who wants Ratna to inherit her husband's money and marry their son. The wicked plot of greed, theft, and murder is eventually uncovered, and Ratna and her accomplices go to jail. At the end of the tale, Ratna escapes and visits Sambodo to lament over their lost love and their lost ideals. In his fine introductory essay to translations of *Njai Ratna* and Tirto's other novella *Busono,* Joost Coté comments on the movement of capital in Ratna's morality tale. "Indonesian men are shown to be unable to emerge from under colonial tutelage. Indonesian women, in contrast, act in, and interact with this colonial structure. They conspire with Indonesian men, or act on their own account, to provide a conduit for the transfer of European wealth to Indonesian society."[32]

Ratna's rationale for her treatment of her Dutch lovers echoes the sort of logic that would mark the budding of women's contributions to both the development of an Indies Native-run economy and an anticolonial attitude that culminated in nationalist sentiment a decade or so later. Ratna and other Indies *njai* in Tirto's stories are able to establish patterns of sexual freedom and mobility because they further the development of the protonationalist economy. As Coté observes: "In their actions, it is women who reveal the racial chasms in the apparently seamless modern urban society. They reveal both the racial boundaries within colonial society and define the contours of a new morality."[33]

Because Tirto's story *Njai Ratna* was serialized in his most successful newspaper, *Medan Prijaji* (1907–1912), and because parts of the novella may be missing, the narrative is choppy, but it is still able to sew the reader

into a particular ideological position.[34] The virtues of capital and its mobility, the delights of commodities in the form of clothing, electric lights, and travel, and immorality and its consequences for women, at least, are clear. What may be more subtle are the ways in which Tirto accepts women's rights to their own sexual choices, while condemning Ratna and other *njai* in this story to bleak futures for their excess of desire. In the same vein, Tirto condemns greed but not the benefits of capital. Tirto was among the first generation of Indies peoples who saw the political ties that bound the various parts of the Indies together. Although he never used the hybrid Malay word *nasion* (in Dutch, *natie, nationalisme*), he saw how the Indies peoples (*bangsa-bangsa*) were bound together beyond the ties of culture and blood (*kebudayaan dan darah*).[35] The phrase he used was "*bangsa-bangsa yang terperintah,*" or "subjected peoples." Pramoedya emphasizes that Tirto was the first to use the press as a tool or instrument of struggle and one of the first to see the Indies as "Hindia," one nation made up of different ethnic groups. Tirto enjoyed putting playful references to himself and his journalism into his fiction. For example, in *Njai Ratna* he uses the following line: "'Once in a while we need a taste of hot and fresh *gado-gado* like the *gado-gado* Raden Mas Tirto serves up in *Pantjaran Warta* [*Broadcast News*],' said Parmi firmly, shifting her position in the chair."[36] Tirto dedicated himself to raising the consciousness of his countrymen about their needs for European-language education, the development of Native-owned businesses, and the emancipation of women. In addition to being the first Native to own his own newspapers, he was the first to publish a daily newspaper with a Sunday edition and the first to publish a vernacular newspaper for women, and he knew how to use the power of the press to shape the opinions of the people. This then became the accepted tradition in the history of the Indies press not only as a tool for the national struggle, but also for the creation of the nation.[37]

Phantasies of Sex and Desire

Although *njai* characters appear in Tirto's three other surviving fictional works, men and their desires and phantasies are the main subjects of these stories.[38] The longest of these fictional works is *Busono,* the name of the main character, which Pramoedya read as an autobiographical tale about Tirto. Pramoedya argued that compared to the two other stories of Tirto's reprinted in his biography of Tirto, "*Busono* may be called literature. One

can find in it Tirto Adhi Soerjo's struggle to find validation for his behavior at that time, an interesting struggle between '*das Sollen*' and '*das Sein,*' between fact and illusion, permeated by regrets and self-blame."[39] It is in *Busono* that Tirto's anxieties surface, in contrast to the comedic excesses of his shorter fiction. Tirto's other two stories of love portray the consequences of excess desire for money and sex and bring into focus Tirto's sharp critiques of the habits of both the Dutch and his own countrymen. "The Yellow Devil" was written during Tirto's first period of banishment from Java as a result of a ***persdelict,*** or press offense, a common charge against Natives, and occasionally Eurasians, in the last decades of Dutch colonial rule. By comparing the original version of this short text with the stories published by Pramoedya in *Sang Pemula,* we can see how much work Pramoedya undertook to make Tirto's writings accessible to contemporary audiences. Pramoedya apologizes for what he calls his *terjemahkan* (translating) of the fictional and nonfictional works included in his biography of Tirto. Although Pramoedya felt these spelling and grammatical changes were necessary for his rehabilitation of Tirto's reputation and the recognition of this author as one of the earliest founders of "Indonesian" nationalism, the loss of Tirto's original texts means that readers only have access to Pramoedya's "translations," making Tirto's work seem more coherent and possibly more in tune with Pramoedya's ideological preferences than it may actually have been.[40]

Tirto reserved special criticism of life in the Indies at the turn of the last century for corrupt Dutch, Eurasian, and Javanese administrators in his nonfiction work, but in his fiction he also took aim in his stories at those who professed to be devout Muslims, the ***hadji*** (one who has returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca) and **Sjech** (an Islamic scholar and, in the Indies, usually of Arab ancestry), as well as moneylenders, Dutch or Native, whom he called ***lintah darat*** (leeches or profiteers). "The Yellow Devil" is the story of Sjech Ali, who wishes to let a Dutchman's *njai,* who owes him money, pay off her debt by having sex with him. Njai Mina leads Ali to believe he will get what he desires before she and her Dutchman swindle him out of hundreds of guilders and send him home half-naked and painted with yellow powder, thus producing the "yellow devil" of the title.[41] Mina tells Ali that since she slept with a Dutchman, why wouldn't she want to sleep with a *bangsa slam* (Muslim) "who is a descendant of our prophet" (in Indonesian, *sama anak tjoetjoe nabi kita*). Tirto skillfully builds the reader's anticipation of the sexual delights to

come. He shows Ali, excited by the suspense, speeding up his prayers (I *dia tjepetin sembajangnja*) in the midst of his phantasies. His portrait of Ali is both engaged and edged sharply to delineate a hypocritical character. The author describes how the wall of the room where Ali waits for his tryst to occur is decorated with pictures from *Bintang Hindia* (Indies Star), one of the early Malay-language protonationalist newspapers, published in Amsterdam from 1902 to 1907.[42] The *Bintang Hindia* was very patriotic and respectful toward the Dutch and the colonial civil service, which is perhaps what led Tirto to use it to paper the wall of the seduction room in his story. In a scene where Ali's house is described, Tirto presents the supposedly devout Islamic scholar living in filth as he propositions Njai Mina.

> After Mina sat down in the middle of Ali's room on a bench thick with dust, she looked around and didn't see any knick-knacks at all, everything was dirty and it stank! In the middle of the room was a round marble table, but the marble looked yellow and dirty with oily butter stains everywhere and leftover dates on the filthy table. On one wall was [a copy of] an Islamic prayer that looked as though it hadn't been cleaned in ten years, it was so thick with dust.[43]

At the end of this story, after the Sjech is humiliated and swindled, and the Dutchman and his loyal Njai Mina move to Bandung with the money, Tirto includes a note saying that this was one of three stories and that the third one would be called "'Ratna Memboektikan Impiannja,' satoe tjerita jang soenggoe soedah terdjadi di Bandoeng" ("Ratna Reveals Her Dreams," a Story That Really Happened in Bandoeng).

The three stories, *Njai Ratna*, "The Yellow Devil," and "Buying Another Man's Wife," all appear to be part of the World of Love: 101 Stories That Really Happened series that Tirto had begun while in exile in the Moluccas. "Buying Another Man's Wife" also tells a story of a religious Muslim, Hadji Idris, who tries to get rid of his wife, whom a ***dukun*** (shaman, healer) said was not good for him. Since he has been married to this new wife, following the sudden death of his previous wife, all his business efforts have turned into failures. But Hadji Idris is only a bit player in this story and is even rewarded in the end when he agrees to give or sell his wife to a greedy Eurasian (Indo) moneylender who has fallen in love with her. Tirto describes the Indo and his way of life. "The inhabitant [of the house] was a *Belanda peranakan* (Indo) who no longer worked. His work

was only to put money in circulation by collecting interest."[44] Hadji Idris' wife is a very promiscuous woman, easily impressed with money and fashionable clothing, and the Eurasian ends up feeling more than punished for his pursuit and purchase of another man's wife. Tirto's stories often depict male phantasies of love and sexual promiscuity, for which the men, too, are punished. The story of Njai Ratna is different in this regard. The characters in Ratna's story think things over, but they do not phantasize in the same way that the male characters in Tirto's other stories do. There are descriptions of the Sjech phantasizing about having sex with Mina, the Indo in *Membeli Bini Orang* (Buying Another Man's Wife) phantasizing about the beautiful wife of Hadji Idris, and, in *Busono,* the autobiographical novella that Pramoedya says is "really literature," there is a description of Busono phantasizing about his beautiful fiancée.

Pramoedya explained that Tirto had written *Busono* in Dutch first and published it in a Dutch periodical called *De Maleische Pers* (The Malay Press). Tirto translated it into Malay himself and published it as a serialized story in his newspaper *Medan Prijaji* in 1912, the last known fictional work of Tirto's.[45] While Tirto's other stories are full of slapstick humor depicting female and male behavior, cynical commentary on religious hypocrisy, and the enchantment and lure of modern commodities and capital, *Busono* is serious, philosophical, and reflective. The novella starts at sunset as the Muslim call to prayer echoes around Batavia. The mosque drums recognize each other in the distance, and then the chants of the drums segue into waltz music, even mentioning the king of the waltz, Johann Strauss, and his *Blue Danube,* nicely stitching together sounds and images from Dutch and local Indies worlds. Two medical students, R. M. Sambodo (another Sambodo, or perhaps the same Sambodo from *Njai Ratna*) and R. M. Warjo, are wandering in the streets of Batavia looking for women. They are former friends of R. M. Busono, who has dropped out of STOVIA (medical school) to be a reporter for a Malay paper. All the R. M. initials indicate that these three students are from the higher Javanese nobility even though they are obviously forced to attend the STOVIA, the school for the poorer elites.[46] Soon Busono passes by and they begin to discuss politics and the press. Busono argues that the Malay press filled its pages with copies of Dutch articles or useless articles by "Dadap and Waru" (typical names of Javanese villagers), who do not understand press ethics. Busono wants to fill the paper with his own ideas and the ideas of other intellectuals who can teach the people.[47]

Busono tells his friends that he needs more knowledge than school knowledge and that he can only get what he needs from well-educated *njai,* ***santri*** or Islamic scholars, and ***buaya,*** mixed-blood scoundrels, womanizers, or those who live in the world between ***kampung*** (village) and city. Busono's friend replies that, as long as the press is under the control of Europeans or people of other races (i.e., Eurasians or Chinese), they will censor the papers if anything subversive is said. An example of the educated type of *njai* from whom Busono can learn is Siti Ningrum, one of the main characters in the novella. Tirto describes the care with which Njai Siti Ningrum chooses her clothing for a visit to a local *dukun,* whom she wishes Busono to meet.[48]

> Siti Ningrum went to her room to get dressed. Would she put on the usual silk blouse decorated with lace, and her slippers [D *pantoffel*] and white socks? No, not tonight! She would wear only a simple pink *kebaya* and a traditional Yogya style *kain* [unsewn sarong], with velvet sandals. She would wear her hair in a coil like a noble married woman or *raden ayu.* She also selected brooches and bracelets which were small and delicate, so as not to sparkle [*mengkilat*] too much. Her earrings were without diamonds. In short, she was very simply dressed.[49]

After the visit to the *dukun,* Siti Ningrum tries to defend the wisdom she perceives in the predictions the *dukun* offers to Busono. "This is the impact of modern knowledge on young people nowadays, *Aden.* They don't believe in supernatural powers [*ilmu gaib*] any more. Because they pretend to be Dutch, they slip up on their way to gaining their fortune. *You* don't believe it, do you Sir?"[50] She then tells Busono that the *dukun* said that one could listen and believe her or not, as one wishes. Busono himself thinks and dreams about what the *dukun* says and wonders if it is possible that he can marry a woman who is a divorcée, as Siti Ningrum has bribed the *dukun* to predict. Busono does not disavow the world of the *dukun,* but neither does he accept it. He lives in a world where such ideas and practices are circulating along with modernist Islamic and European forms of knowledge that denigrate these "superstitions."

The ambivalences of the supposedly autobiographical tale of Busono continue to emerge. Busono later speaks of the type of wife he wants: one who can help him with his work, who speaks Dutch, and with whom he can discuss the daily newspapers. His ideal woman is his secret fiancée,

Sundari, a woman from the village. She is beautiful, a great housekeeper, and Dutch-educated—a woman who can be trained—and a virgin. Although Busono lives in a world of circulating knowledges and commodities, he does not wish his own woman to circulate. Busono gives Siti Ningrum a lecture on how she should leave her Dutch doctor and get legally married to someone, but he also tells her to have a child by the Dutchman so that the child can gain European status and education and then help the Indies people. Busono tells Siti Ningrum that he does not look down on the *njai*s or on the women of his own race who have become ***selir***, or minor wives of Javanese nobility. He condemns many of the Javanese customs concerning women and marriage: pregnancy as the usual motivation for marriage and illegitimate children, polygamous customs that force women to become minor wives or mistresses of Javanese nobility. How can Busono berate the *njai* when all these practices are common?[51]

Busono continually feels he needs to learn more: jurisprudence, politics, Islamic law, and village customs. He needs this knowledge for his work, as Busono explains to his conservative uncle Noto, who prefers Busono join the Native bureaucracy: "By working as a newspaper editor, I will be able to move the hearts of my people and arouse the interests of those who are still unaware of their duty." In another long passage, Busono explains to his uncle Noto the need for Indies people to take advantage of the workings of capital.

> The Europeans, they get a bit of capital [M *modal*] from here and a bit from there, and after they have accumulated the capital, they set up a big company [M *kongsi*]. Besides making a profit, they also create jobs for their own people, also for us, but then only at the lower salaries. This is due to the fact that our people do not pool their capital. Why don't we want to imitate them?
>
> To set up a business association [M *perniagaan besar*], capital of twenty thousand guilders would be enough to get started. There are millions of us, and amongst us there are around a hundred thousand who would not mind throwing away one guilder. With numbers like this, we could set up quite a few of our own business associations.[52]

After much intrigue, Busono finally marries a woman from a good family instead of his fiancée or the daughter of a local *raja* (ruler), whom his uncle Noto found for him. His name is slandered because of all the

women he rejected; he suffers a mental breakdown and retires to a village near Bogor. There he starts his own newspaper with money secretly donated by the Regent and by a wealthy Muslim businessman, and then Busono helps the local people set up an areca nut cooperative. His uncle Noto, mentioned above, accuses Busono of embezzling Noto's money because he is angry that Busono did not marry the noblewoman Noto found for him. Busono has kept his receipts and is able to prove that he has not embezzled. He is saddened by the deceit, but, because he has knowledge of the law, Busono is able to help himself, and this is where the novella fragment ends.

Pramoedya and others who have written about Tirto's literary work consider *Busono* to be autobiographical.[53] This conclusion may stem from scarcity of information about Tirto's personal life rather than from Tirto's own testimony. Even his lengthy diarylike essay "*Oleh-oleh dari Tempat* ***Pembuangan***" (Souvenirs from Exile), where Tirto describes his two-month exile in southern Sumatra in 1910 for *persdelict* (a press offense), does not devote space to personal reflections. There are parallels between events related in *Busono* and known events in Tirto's life, such as his dropping out of medical school to become a journalist and starting newspapers, but *Busono* remains enigmatically fiction and phantasy, both Tirto's and Pramoedya's. Pramoedya contends that Tirto's depression came from his betrayal of the journalistic code of keeping one's sources secret from the authorities. This, according to Pramoedya, is why Tirto ended his life in melancholy and silence.

In the novella Busono has a mental breakdown after he has been attacked by a number of individuals for his presumptuous attempt to marry the daughter of a local ruler, and, according to Pramoedya, Tirto has a mental breakdown in 1912 for revealing a journalistic source. What is well-known, however, is Tirto's fall from grace and continuing imprisonment and banishment by the Dutch authorities after 1912 that lead to his premature death in 1918, poor and forgotten by all. Pramoedya concludes that Tirto was tortured by his journalist transgression. "One can only imagine that after his return from exile, he would attempt to rehabilitate himself. But it was in vain. His name had already been destroyed, and he himself had violated the principles of journalism. Maybe nobody but the Batavia Court knew [of his indiscretion], but his own heart could not be deceived."[54]

Perhaps Tirto's mental breakdown, which Pramoedya attributed to Tirto's breaking of a journalistic code of ethics, also was caused by his realization that the rule of law that he had learned to respect through his Dutch-language education did not apply to Natives, not even upper-class ones, and never would in the Dutch Indies. Chapter 5 returns to this interpretation of Tirto's last years and the reasons for his ignominious fall that have been memorialized so eloquently in Pramoedya's *House of Glass,* the fourth and last novel of the *Buru Quartet*.

Modernity, the Unmodern, Language, and Disenchanted Pasts

Tirto's fiction blends elements of the past and the present: guns, fortune-tellers, *guna-guna* (black magic), gambling, electricity, the press, commodities, capital, slander, and censorship all coexist in the same space. Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued: "Thus the writing of history must implicitly assume a plurality of times existing together, a disjuncture of the present with itself."[55] Chakrabarty is arguing that, even when people in the past consult mystics and shamans, they continue their modern practices that unmistakably mark them as modern. Thus, when Busono visits the *dukun* in the novella that bears his name, he is aware of the disjuncture between what he does most of the time and his visit to the *dukun* to please the *njai.* He recognizes both the modern and the unmodern. Although Njai Siti Ningrum did not see these visits in the same way, she feels nostalgia for the time when everyone believed in the power of the *dukun.* By Chakrabarty's logic, her nostalgia unmistakably marks her as modern. Her nostalgia for the past allows her to see the plurality of time and the disjuncture of the present with itself. Chakrabarty also maintains: "The moment we think of the world as disenchanted, however, we set limits to the ways the past can be narrated."[56] The struggle between disenchantment and enchantment and that between the time of modernity and something that precedes it take place on the pages of Tirto's fiction. The figure of the *njai* is associated with modernity in Tirto's writings as she speaks Dutch, reads the newspapers, asserts her rights to sexual and economic freedom, and feels nostalgia for time past. The figures of the Sjech and the *hadji* are not necessarily modern, but they become modern in Tirto's writings through their entry into the economic, sexual, and linguistic exchanges taking place in the Indies.[57] The Sjech from "The Yellow Devil" and Njai Ratna,

in particular, long for forbidden partners because of their excess of sexual desire caused by their need to be accepted within colonial modernity. The circulations of desire and commodities do not appear without their just rewards and retributions.

Tirto read the fiction of his day and published serialized stories whenever he could in the pages of his newspapers. He was part of the generation of Chinese, Eurasian, and other Indies Native writers who were changing the lingua franca Malay of the market into a language with a written literature. As I mentioned earlier, these writers took the language of the Chinese Indies readers and writers and made that language one of the languages of colonial modernity and the major language of the popular Malay press in the Indies. To return to Deleuze and Guattari's identification of the process through which a "minor literature" is created alongside a major language, as mentioned above, the three characteristics of a minor literature included the deterritorialization of language, its politicization, and the production of new forms of writing that lead to collective consciousness and collective enunciations.[58] Tirto and his generation of writers—both fiction writers and journalists—started the process through which lingua franca Malay became the national language of the Indies. They deterritorialized lingua franca Malay as the market language of the archipelago and reterritorialized it as the major language of the growing nationalist movement of the Dutch Indies, displacing both Dutch and Javanese. Tirto and other writers of his generation who used lingua franca Malay mixed Dutch, Javanese, English, Sundanese, Arabic, French, English, and Chinese words into it, thus enriching and expanding the language. For these writers, the act of writing and publishing in "low" Malay, a language frowned upon by patriarchal Dutch colonial scholars, was political in itself, whether what they wrote was seen to be political or not.

Tirto's writing in Malay and especially his editorship and ownership of perhaps a dozen different papers helped to create a collective consciousness among various groups in the Indies, including Chinese Indies peoples and some Eurasians. Tirto also, through his forced periods of exile in northern Sulawesi and southern Sumatra, created bonds for himself and others with ethnic groups beyond Java and Sunda, thus expanding his readers' vision of the Indies to coincide with the boundaries of the Dutch empire. Tirto's voice was a unique one, but the speaking subjects of his literary works could not refer back to a space of collective memory, because that collective memory did not yet exist. This, as noted above, illustrates

Deleuze and Guattari's third criterion of a minor literature and also evokes Chakrabarty's disjuncture of the present with itself.[59] Pramoedya noted that Tirto himself was not fully aware of the revolutionary forces that his writings were bringing into focus, forces that would grow over the next decades.[60] Tirto overestimated the lofty ideals and the legal system of the Dutch colonial ethical policy of the early twentieth century, thinking these ideals applied to both Dutch and Natives in the Indies, and he underestimated the vision of his fellow countrymen and women. At the same time that Tirto was trying to bring the Islamic, Chinese, and Eurasian communities together, the colonial government was trying its best to set these groups against one another for the government's own economic and political benefits. Despite the rhetoric of the ethical policy to uplift and educate the Natives, the colonial government continued to disparage local commerce and was frightened of local political organizing.[61] Tirto commented on this in 1910 in an article in *Medan Prijaji*: "As for this practice [degrading and shunning Native trade and commerce], first of all the actions of Holland and the Dutch are crazy and they frighten everyone with Native Pan-Islamism and fears of *Hadji*s and others every time we Muslims in the Indies try to find honest work."[62]

Dutch efforts to use fears of Islam as a rallying call to stifle the growth of Native industry and Native consciousness had already haunted Couperus' *De stille kracht* (The Hidden Force) when it was published in 1900, and Islam would continue to haunt Couperus' writings on the Indies. Comparing modernity's enchantments in the colony that sprang from the pages of Tirto's fiction with life in the metropole as depicted by Couperus in these same years, one finds a melancholic vision of a European society in decline, beset by anxiety and trauma, colonial ghosts, and delusions.

Late Imperial Den Haag

> And the melancholy of bygone things seemed to swell on the loud moaning of the wind during the following days, when the rain poured down; the house these days seemed full of the melancholy of bygone things. They were days of shadow and half-light reflected around the old doting woman in the conservatory; Adeline, the silent, mournful mother; Emilie, a young woman, but broken . . . like all the greyness exuding from human souls that are always living in the past and in the melancholy of that past . . .[63]

De boeken der kleine zielen, or *The Books of Small Souls,* the quartet of novels that Couperus began to write and publish soon after his year-long visit to the Indies in 1899, describes the life of the van Lowe family living in Den Haag.[64] The van Lowes are a colonial family—that is, a family deeply involved in trade with the Indies or in the service of the colonial government—modeled on Couperus' own family, and the late, fictional Papa van Lowe had been Governor General of the Indies for a time, moving up the colonial hierarchy over his long career.[65] The eight surviving van Lowe children—two die in the Indies while young—spend a good period of their youth living an extravagant life at the height of colonial society in the Indies. The family is still connected to the Indies through marriages, business investments, and memories, but none of the children have followed in Papa's diplomatic footsteps. The one who comes closest to that world is the eldest daughter, Bertha, whose husband, van Naghel, is Secretary of the Colonies. Constance, the heroine of the four books, was headed toward the diplomatic heights of her father's world when he married her off at twenty-two to the highly placed Dutch ambassador in Rome, forty years her senior. Constance soon creates the scandal that forms the core of the quartet when she is caught cheating on her husband, who then divorces her. Her younger lover, Baron van der Welcke, a hot-headed, up-and-coming young statesman, follows his parents' stern Calvinist wishes and marries Constance, even though the marriage means that the parents will no longer receive or see their only son. Constance and van der Welcke live in exile from their families and friends for twenty years, nursing their wounds, isolated, and blaming each other for their unhappiness. Both of them, however, dote on the love of their precocious and endearing thirteen-year-old son Adriaan, or Addy, who becomes Dr. Adriaan of the fourth and last novel of the quartet.

The weather is a constant trope in Couperus' *Small Souls* quartet, a topic to which I return below, and this atmosphere produces a melancholic ambiance that is echoed in the psychological development of the characters.

> The rawness of the March evening bore down on the deserted Javastraat with a shudder of dripping fog. It had rained all day; and now the heavy grey sky was blotted from sight in a mist that clung in masses of woolly dampness to the roofs and tree-tops; the wind whistled from the north-west and skimmed over the rippling puddles; the trees dripped

> as heavily as though it were still raining; and the pale-yellow light upon the clouded street-lamps shimmered down upon the street.[66]

Wind and rain, ominous clouds, and flooded streets bathe the characters of the novel in a bleakness that mirrors the bleakness of their "small souls," the pettiness of the Dutch upper bourgeoisie, whom Couperus captured by portraying in detail all their narrow-minded, self-centered, and often spiteful ways. For these novels are novels of class differences and class decline. Comparable to Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks,* also a novel of class and family decline written in the same period, *Small Souls* distinguishes itself with the *colonial* phantasies and phantoms that haunt the work.

The third novel, *The Twilight of the Souls* (*Zielenschemering*), provides the most interesting contrast with Tirto's fiction and its depiction of the enchantments of modernity because Couperus' work is so filled with modernity's underside of trauma, melancholia, and dread. *The Twilight of the Souls* also serves as a contrast to Couperus' famous Indische novel *The Hidden Force* (*De stille kracht*) and as a forerunner to his other novel of empire, *Van oude mensen, de dingen, die voorbij gaan* (Old People and Things That Pass Them By).[67] Couperus began to write *The Hidden Force* while he was still in the Indies in 1899, and it was published in 1900. His trip to the Indies seems to have inspired his fiction in two ways: first, although haunting is evident in his earlier novels, the concern with ghosts becomes more pronounced in this work. Second, the four novels of the quartet plus *The Hidden Force* and *Old People* highlight the effects of empire on Dutch families with colonial connections. *The Hidden Force* is celebrated, especially by those interested in the Dutch Indies Empire, for its evocation of the uncanny quality of the "East," for its presentation of Javanese superstitions and how they penetrated and undermined the colonial bureaucracy, and for its most decadent heroine, Leonie, the epitome of colonial debauchery. *The Hidden Force* was a turning point in Couperus' literary style, allowing him to integrate the mysteries and mysticism that he rediscovered in Java into the five *Haagsche romans* that he wrote after his return to Europe in early 1900.[68] *Twilight of the Souls* is the most tragic volume of Couperus' *Small Souls* quartet. The narrative concerns death, haunting, melancholia, and hysteria. The characters that are most prominent in the novel include Constance's brothers Gerrit and Ernst and her sister Bertha's divorced daughter Emilie, who lives in Paris with her brother Henri. Gerrit commits suicide, Ernst suffers from

psychotic delusions and hallucinations, young Henri is killed by Emilie's jealous former husband, and Emilie is badly traumatized by the murder. Constance's son Addy decides to become a doctor instead of entering the diplomatic service, and Mamma van Lowe, the matriarch of the family, falls into senility.

The Family Decline

Mamma van Lowe despairs over the growing number of tragedies in the family that she has been forced to accept. She complains to her granddaughter Emilie, daughter of the Colonial Secretary, who had suddenly died, how low the family has sunk.

> The family isn't what it was. It is a *grandeur déchue,* child, a regular *grandeur déchue.* The van Lowes were something once. There was never much money, but we didn't care about money and we always managed. But the family used to count . . . in India [the Indies], at the Hague. Which of you will ever have a career like your Grandpapa's, like your Papa's? No, we shall never see another governor-general in the family, nor yet a cabinet minister. It's a *grandeur déchue,* a *grandeur déchue.* . . .[69]

References to the van Lowe family as an Indies family, a **creole** family with Indies manners, are scattered throughout the novels. Even though the ***nonna*s**, the Indo women who married into the family, are set apart and their speech patterns mimicked and mocked constantly, there is also a sense that the van Lowes' Indies upbringing provides them with a sense of comfort: the occasional Indies meal cooked by one of the *nonna*s is savored; the memories of the Indies invoke a time of greatness. Couperus was writing at the waning of *tempo doeloe,* the time past when the practice of Dutchmen marrying Indies women or living with a *njai*—as depicted in Tirto's fiction—until their official marriage to a Dutch woman was ordinary. Although this miscegenation was unremarkable in the colonies, it was looked down upon in Holland. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the tolerance for such racial mixing waned even in the colony, and this changing attitude is depicted in Couperus' novels.[70]

Of Mamma van Lowe's children, Gerrit, the captain of the cavalry and Constance's older brother by a year, is most influenced by the Indies. Gerrit has a major weakness, a "thing" or worm that lives inside him, that

has existed since his youth, long before the tragic affair that caused his suicide. For Gerrit, the phantasm is his pretense of living his life as a normal, respected Dutchman. But secretly the worm—or is it a centipede?—is eating away inside of him. The worm, which enables him to pretend to be a good husband, good father, and good soldier, also symbolizes his lust, his longing for Java, and his lost childhood and youth. The worm is thus his desire for life, his lust, his vitality, and his decadence. Its destruction will be the destruction of Gerrit as well.[71]

Why are Gerrit and his younger brother Ernst mentally unhinged? Why did most of the women in the family fall into melancholia in the face of tragedy? Couperus is suggesting that the colonial upbringing and the Indies connections damaged them all, and the author presses this point despite his attachment to, his love for, the Indies. Gerrit's darkness, the worm eating away at him, his inability to see the misery and desperation of his lover, Pauline, continue to grow. Darkness closes in on him. He finally commits suicide, leaving his wife, along with one of his sons who has seen his father's bloody body and the fatal gun, grieving and traumatized.[72] In contrast, Gerrit's brother Ernst, who had been hallucinating the disturbed souls of his collection of antique artifacts, slowly recovers from his darkness, with the help of medical intervention, and is able to live on his own again. Ernst's troubled souls form a contrast to the shallow and small souls of most of the van Lowe family. *The Twilight of the Souls* ends after the murder of young Henri in Paris—a tragedy that leaves his sister/lover, Emilie, shattered—after the suicide of Gerrit and the devastation of his wife, and as a cloud of senility descends upon Mamma van Lowe, leaving her trapped in delusions of her former life in Java. Emilie; Gerrit's wife, Adeline; and Mamma van Lowe become three broken women in the quote that opened the previous section. "They were days of shadow and half-light reflected around the old doting woman in the conservatory; Adeline, the silent, mournful mother; Emilie, a young woman, but broken."

Melancholia, Psychoanalysis, and Hypnosis

Couperus' study of melancholia and darkness poses interesting questions for scholars of psychoanalysis, colonialism, and Freud.[73] Couperus admitted that, although he knew of Freud, he had never read his work, but Couperus lived in a time when the ideas of the new "science" of psychoanalysis were prominent in the intellectual circles in which the Dutch

author traveled.[74] Couperus himself could not bear to live in Holland, and he spent much of his adult life, when he was not traveling, in southern Italy. He wrote the *Books of Small Souls* in Nice, in the south of France. He claimed that his adolescence spent in the hot sun of the Indies had made it impossible for him to live in the wind and rain, in the gloom and stuffiness of Holland. But several of the characters whom Couperus portrays in the *Books of Small Souls* could fit easily into Breuer and Freud's *Studies on Hysteria.* Rather than suffering from the "racial" trauma that afflicted Jews in Austro-Hungary, Couperus' characters suffer from the ills of their class, their colonial contaminations, and the depressing Dutch weather.

> The gale outside was like a living immensity, a vast soul raging with world-suffering, thousand-voiced and thousand-winged, and under its raging agony, which filled all the air above the land, the house that contained the life of them all was a small casket. The wind was pitiless. The wind lashed through the air like one possessed, like a madman that had no feeling: strong in his might and blind in his heartlessness.[75]

> It had rained steadily for days upon the dreary, wintry trees, out of a sky that hung low but tremendously wide and heavy, as oppressive as a pitiless darkness. Drearily the wintry roads shot forward as the carriage rattled along them.[76]

> Round the house the thaw wept; and in the night the sinewed grain of the ice broke and melted in weeping melancholy, with the added melancholy of the west wind blowing up heavy clouds, the west wind which came from very far and moaned softly along the walls and over the roof, rattling the tight-closed windows of the night. . . .[77]

> And it was no longer the strong boisterous winds, but the angry winds, the winds that brought with them the clouds of grey melancholy, in eternal steady-blowing sadness, as though in the west, yonder, there were a dark realm of mysterious sorrow, whence blew huge howling cohorts of gigantic woes, titanic griefs, overshadowing the small country and the small people.[78]

As in his earlier, more naturalistic novels, Couperus used weather as a rhetorical device to emphasize the melancholic side of Dutch life, but also,

similar to Dermoût, as a form of repetition that leaves an echo. The summers rush by and the fall, winter, and spring each offer their bone-chilling version of wind, rain, and melancholy. Couperus makes even the Dutch summer miserable.

> The oppressive [*drukkende*], sultry, rainless summer days followed one after the other; and the night also waited in oppressive expectation of oppressive things, which were to happen and never happened, as though what we expected to happen immediately withdrew and withdrew farther and only hung over houses and people with heavy stormy skies: skies of blazing morning blue, until great grey-white clouds blew up from a mysterious cloudland and drifted past on high. . . .[79]

Melancholia constantly surrounds and invades the characters: outside of them, inside of them, in their bones, and in their psyches. For those characters who do not succumb to the melancholia completely, there is still a perpetual feeling of dread and premonitions of disaster. In *Twilight of the Souls,* premonitions repeat or foreshadow every disaster as it unfolds.

Couperus explores class differences in the last novel of his quartet,[80] pitting the decadence, culture, and neuroses of the upper bourgeoisie against the so-called simplicity and materialism that typifies the lower bourgeoisie. The hero of the fourth novel is Constance's son Addy, who has now become Dr. Adriaan. Addy's choice of a wife from the lower bourgeoisie represents a rebellion against his class and its refined decadence. Addy chooses this woman for her vibrant health and because she is unlike the van Lowes and their neurotic colonial circle. The wife and the family do not like each other. Addy's wife, whom he eventually leaves, is troubled by many things but especially by Addy's use of hypnotism; she does not understand it, and it frightens her.

Addy's mastery of hypnotism shows that Couperus was aware of the latest psychoanalytical techniques that were being used in France at the turn of the century. As Freud is closely associated with the discourse of psychic trauma, in part because he combined the work being done in France with contemporary work in Vienna, Couperus can be seen as a writer who makes the Dutch intellectual world aware of the psychoanalytical work being done in France.[81] Rather than being grounded in the works of Freud and other Austrian and German psychoanalysts, Couperus would have been more familiar with the ideas of French physicians like the neurologists

J.-M. Charcot, Hippolyte Bernheim, and Charcot's student the psychologist Pierre Janet, who were working in France at the time Couperus was writing his quartet in Nice, just as Couperus' literary style was influenced by the French styles of Gustave Flaubert and Emile Zola. Freud first studied with Charcot, who was experimenting with hysteria, trauma, and hypnosis at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris in the 1880s, and he translated two volumes of Charcot's lectures. Freud visited the French hypnotism specialist Bernheim in Nancy in 1889 and translated Bernheim's paper on hypnotism and suggestion into German in 1888 or 1889.[82] Freud brought these French ideas to Vienna and published them in collaboration with his longtime mentor and colleague Josef Breuer, who had been trying out the **cathartic method,** or the "talking cure" invented by his famous patient Anna O., since 1880.[83] Couperus has his character Addy study medicine in Vienna—the center of Freud's ongoing work—for a year.

Even though Freud himself had abandoned the use of hypnotism before the turn of the century, Addy's successful use of hypnotism to treat the trauma of his cousin Emilie further demonstrates Couperus' familiarity with contemporary French psychoanalytic techniques. Emilie, Addy's cousin, whose brother/lover has been murdered in Paris, has a classical case of what would later be associated with the Freudian idea of the "compulsion to repeat," which Freud articulated in his 1920 essay on the "pleasure principle." Breuer and Freud's early work on trauma and hypnosis, published in 1895, is useful in explaining the trauma experienced by Emilie after she finds the dead body of her beloved brother Henri. Couperus describes Emilie's **traumatic neurosis** in the last book of the quartet, finished in 1902: in *Dr. Adriaan,* every summer after Henri's murder, Emilie becomes hysterical and is compelled to repeat the secret story of Henri's murder to Addy and only to Addy: "She was like a madwoman; in the sultry summer heat she was overmastered by the day-long vision that loomed up regularly with the first balmy warmth of spring. She was like a madwoman; she saw everything before her eyes; she lived the past over again."[84]

In the novel two sorts of repetition are linked: Emilie's need to repeat the story and the return every year of the hysteria that accompanies her tragic memory, repressed during the dark winter but resurrected with the summer. The family does not know that it was Emilie's former husband who stabbed Henri and that Emilie witnessed the murder, nor that the former husband stalked Emilie and Henri while they were living in Paris. Addy is the one who must listen to the story every summer, the only one

who can calm Emilie and assuage her pain. When he does this, Addy needs to get Emilie to look into his eyes so that he can hypnotize her with his healing gaze. Ruth Leys has noted a key point in the evolution of **trauma theory**: "What is less understood is that hypnosis was not just an instrument of research and treatment but played a major theoretical role in the conceptualization of trauma. This is because the tendency of the hypnotized persons to imitate or repeat whatever they were told to say or do provided a basic model for the traumatic experience."[85] Leys is suggesting that techniques of hypnosis shaped the way that trauma was defined, thus giving the medical hypnotists a role in creating their clinical descriptions of trauma. Couperus' *Books of Small Souls* can be seen as contributing to the transnational discourse of trauma theory as it evolved in the twentieth century.

In Freud's introduction to his translation into German of Bernheim's *De la suggestion et de ses applications à la thérapeutique,* published in two parts in 1888 and 1889, Freud discussed Bernheim's ideas concerning suggestion and hypnosis, which Freud thought were important for ongoing work in Vienna in the field that would come to be called psychoanalysis. The methods of hypnosis and suggestion that Addy uses on his patients—in particular, the haunted and melancholic Marie, Addy's cousin, who has come to live with the family in Driebergen so that Addy can treat her, and Emilie, as described above—resemble Bernheim's techniques, as they are described by Freud, as well as Bernheim's own descriptions of his methods. In Freud's 1893 paper on a successful treatment by hypnotism, Freud notes: "I at once attempted to induce hypnosis by ocular fixation, at the same time making constant suggestions of the symptoms of sleep."[86] These were the techniques used by Bernheim, as opposed to the grander and more theatrical types of hypnosis used by Charcot in his work on hysteria in Paris. Couperus' use and explanation of hypnosis, abandoned by Freud in 1896, in this final book of the quartet, seems to confirm Couperus' reliance on French rather than Freudian practices of hypnosis. In the conclusion of the fourth book, old Mamma van Lowe dies, and Addy, after officially separating from his wife, Mathilde, returns from several months of travel to the warm embrace of his large neurotic family, whose members have felt abandoned and lost without him. Thus, the doctor becomes the new patriarch, who takes over from the old colonial one, Papa van Lowe. Addy, the psychoanalyst, replaces the colonial Governor General and tries to heal the colonial phantoms and phantasms that haunt his family, phantoms

that derive from the harsh treatment by Dutch colonial servants of Indies Natives, whom Couperus sees as children, albeit dangerous children.

The focus on hypnotism in the fin-de-siècle period fits in with rising interest in other occult sciences that were prominent at the time, both in the Indies and in Europe. One important practice that seemed to fascinate colonials and educated Javanese alike was table turning, getting messages from the "other side" through tapping sounds or Ouija boards that spelled out letters of the alphabet. The practice is mentioned in the famous Dutch letters of the Javanese heroine R. A. Kartini, who died at age twenty-five in 1904. Table turning is also mentioned in Couperus' book set in the Indies, *De stille kracht,* where the European colonials and Eurasians try out the practice. There was also a solid and long-lasting interest in Theosophy by many intellectuals—both Dutch and Javanese—in Java by that time period, also mentioned in Kartini's letters. Once again discourses and practices popular in Europe were transmitted to the Indies as people traveled between the Indies and Europe.[87]

Secrets of Empire

In what may be his most brilliant, and macabre, novel, *Old People and Things That Pass Them By,* Couperus expanded on themes of colonial guilt and trauma that had first figured in *The Hidden Force* and then in the quartet.[88] The "old people" in Couperus' 1906 novel are truly old—in their nineties—and the memories of their evil deeds as faithless murderers in the Indies sixty years ago are about to pass with them into the silence of death. There is an adulterous affair, its discovery, and the murder that accidentally ensues when an angry husband discovers his wife's philandering. There is also a doctor who has to sign the death warrant and say that the murder was a suicide. This he does in return for sexual favors from the beautiful adulteress. These crimes of passion, murder, blackmail, and deceit lock the woman and her two lovers into secret complicity for sixty years. Grandpa Takma, ninety-three, had been a civil servant and a member of the prestigious Raad van Indië (Council of the Indies) in his day; Ottilie Dercksz is ninety-seven and had been married to Assistant Resident Dercksz, stationed at Tegal in central Java; and Dr. Roelofsz, also a colonial civil servant, is eighty-eight. During the years since their return to Holland, the three spend hours of each day sitting together in the woman's home in Den Haag, sometimes alone and often joined by one or two of

their large extended family members. Now they are all old—so very old—and they are waiting to die and bury their illicit past with them.

In Couperus' last *Haagsche roman,* phantom and phantasm combine. The phantom, or family secret, takes visible form for the child of the murdered man and his adulterous wife as a phantasm that Harold sees throughout his life. The three old people do not know that Harold witnessed the murder of his father. They do not know that their secret will not die with them. The *Angst* that Couperus found in Java, which begins to take a colonial form in *The Silent Force,* travels back to Holland, turning into melancholia and trauma. What is first imagined as the ghostly figure of the *hadji,* the lurking dangers of Islam and the power of Javanese magic in *The Silent Force,* returns as Gerrit's worm in *Twilight of the Souls,* and then simply as the "Thing" in *Old People and Things that Pass Them By.* But the phantom and its phantasm are both rooted in sexuality, a deviant sexuality. In *The Silent Force* the deviant sexuality surrounds the beautiful creole Leonie, the Resident's wife, who engages in sex with her stepson and her future son-in-law. In *The Twilight of the Souls* and the *Books of Small Souls* as a whole, the deviant sexuality is associated with Gerrit's repressed love for his sister Constance, which becomes the origin of his phantasmic worm, and this is doubled in Emilie's excessive feelings for her brother Henri. In *Old People,* the deviant sexual love that originates in the Indies finally overtakes the younger generation when two young people about to marry realize they are first cousins. All of these relationships border on the incestuous, on sex that exceeds its boundaries, on sexual relationships that mirror the deviance of the colonial relationship.[89] In a comment on Couperus' *Old People,* Maria Dermoût read the love story of old Takma and old Ottilie as incredibly moving: that the man whom Ottilie had loved so much, with whom she had committed murder, came every day to sit with her, "I find it so lovely, so lovely and soothing, and it earned them forgiveness from all the guilt, joy, and pain of a lifetime."[90]

Colonial Phantoms and Phantasies

Couperus' site of neurotic origins was located in the degenerative effects of empire. Couperus' characters' neuroses are connected with sexual phantasies, and those sexual phantasies have roots in the contagions of the Indies. In a collection of travel essays that Couperus was asked to write as a special

correspondent for the liberal Dutch newspaper the *Haagsche Post* in 1921, a year and a half before he died, he spoke frankly of the Indies people.

> These men's desires are quite different from those of a European workman at the present time; they remain childlike and traditional, and are born to serve and to honor the descendants of their ancient races. . . . And in this childlike and traditionally minded soul there is something slumbering and occasionally awaking, which will always remain a mystery to the Westerner, which he denies, if he has no finer perceptions—an occult Force. . . . Where the native believes in various "*elmoes*" (Arabic—*ilm*—knowledge), such magic "*elmoes*" must exist in his mind. He cannot have invented them; as a matter of fact, he cannot invent anything; of what he calls "invention" there is somewhere, without a doubt, a prototype. An *elmoe* is the science of how to make use of a higher power in order to attain a certain object. . . . I believe the native attaches more value to being conscious of having an *elmoe* than to the thought of having the vote or other modern rights. With his childlike nature, he will scarcely know how to use such rights.[91]

It is at the end of this essay that Couperus' much cited admission appears, announcing his own belief in the ability of the "Malay" or "Javanese" to possess and use these *elmoe*s (in contemporary Malay and Indonesian, *ilmu*), either to benefit or trouble the Westerner, and that the Westerner who makes light of these powers does so at his or her own risk. It is clear from the quote that Couperus did not see the Indies people as capable of inventing the *elmoe*s themselves, and he located the source of this spiritual concept in Islamic knowledge by providing the Arabic root *'ilm,* knowledge, for the Dutch spelling of the Javanese and Malay word *elmoe* (*ilmu*). Although he believed most Javanese or Malay people were not inventive, Couperus was aware that the upper classes of the Indies, the Regents and others of their class, were becoming educated and that they would soon want their independence from the Dutch. Like many of the scholars of the Indies in the first decades of the twentieth century, Couperus believed these upper-class Regents to be descendents of the Indians, Indo-Aryans who were believed at that time to have once colonized the Indies.[92] He observed that the elites were supposedly Indic, while the lower classes were influenced by the Arabic *elmoe*s. Thus the Regents were capable of development despite the continuing superstitions

that surrounded the Sunan of Solo and the Sultan of Jogjakarta, the emasculated Javanese monarchs who, Couperus said, were worshipped in their ornate palaces in the principalities of central Java.[93]

In his novels Couperus suggested that the neurotic diseases of the Dutch colonial classes did not come only from their physical contact with the peoples of the Indies. In fact, in the *Small Souls* quartet, there is very little contact between the van Lowe family and Indies Natives at all, apart from contact with the *nonna*s married to family members. Only in *The Hidden Force* did Javanese Regent families and servants figure prominently.[94] In his *Small Souls* quartet, Couperus celebrates the fallen grandeur of the van Lowe family, whose members are both sustained and haunted by memories and phantasies of their life in the Indies. In the novels, the neuroses of the van Lowe family are caused by events that happened to the Dutch in the Indies. Ann L. Stoler has attributed the perceived degeneration of the Dutch in the Indies to racism and empire in her important work on the contagions and contaminations that were believed to afflict Dutch children in the Indies who were raised by Native or Eurasian women. As Stoler notes, the discourse regarding contagions carried by lower-class women in Europe preceded the discourse on race and contagion in the Indies. Stoler suggests that Freud may have been influenced by reports of events in the colonies when he isolated similar behavior in the nursemaids of Habsburg Austro-Hungary in the late nineteenth century.[95] Couperus, too, saw the Dutch degenerating in the Indies, sinking into patterns of sexual deviance and even driven to murder in his last *Haagsche* novel, *Old People and Things That Pass Them By.* But Couperus' novels suggest there was a complex Dutch relationship with the Indies that caused these disorders: the Dutch lost their self-control if they spent too long in the Indies. Creoles born in the Indies were typical examples of racial degeneration, and even Holland-born Dutch citizens who visited could fall victim to the *elmoe*s of the Malays and Javanese, adopt Indies manners and lifestyles, and become decadent and degenerate. Couperus thought that interracial marriages and sexual dalliances were also at fault because Indies women might also possess the dreaded *elmoes;* the author's attitude in this case is more grim than one might expect, given that his portrayals of the Indies *nonna*s who were present in his family and his novels tend to be benign.[96] According to Couperus, the Dutch did not thrive and become better people in the Indies, and, when they returned to Holland, Dutch colonials often suffered from melancholia, hallucinations, and incestuous phantasies and

desires. Couperus offered his readers phantasies of colonial abandon and sexuality. And, like the phantoms of the past that can be passed from generation to generation, these phantasies or phantasms, which caused trauma and melancholia, were also passed to succeeding generations.[97] In his family novels, like the *Books of Small Souls,* even children who have never been in the Indies are susceptible to colonial phantoms. The colonial experience was a traumatic one from which, Couperus suggests, many Dutch colonial families could not recover.

Couperus mixed ideas of trauma, sexuality, and hypnosis circulating in Europe in the fin-de-siècle period with influences from the Indies and the colonial relationship. Although Couperus identified the *elmoe*s as the source of European degeneration in the tropics, not everyone was affected by *elmoe*s in the same way. Native women could use their magical *elmoe*s to destabilize European men, but creole men and women and mixed-race children might also find themselves vulnerable to the debilitating effects of the *elmoe*s because of jealousies, gossip, and sexual desires. The *elmoe*s had an uncanny effect on Europeans in the Indies, producing an echo in many of Couperus' characters that came from a form of magic rooted in Native powers. These echoes can be heard in Couperus' constant repetitions, and they are the echoes of colonial anxiety, sexuality, and trauma. Couperus' repetitions occur both at the word level and at the image level: the dripping rain and blowing wind are constant reminders of melancholic life in Holland and the loss of the sunshine-filled Indies world and its sexual license. Dermoût's writing had echoes too, although her echoes appear most often at the phrase level and through the second-person questions posed to the reader throughout her texts.

Couperus' echoes, which originated in memories of the Indies—perhaps the reminiscences mentioned by Breuer and Freud in their epigraph opening this chapter—disturbed people's sense of time in the era of colonial modernity. The time differential created by these echoes produced aporias, sources of hesitation or doubt, which arose in the temporal and spatial gaps between life in the modern colonial Indies and life in the metropole.[98] As discussed in Chapter 1, Nicolas Abraham equated gaps or "phantoms" with traumas handed down in individual families. But reading Couperus' novels as situated testimonies of the fin-de-siècle Dutch Indies expands both the time of traumatic experiences and their settings from within individual families to the circulation of people and goods within the Dutch imperial field. For both Couperus and Dermoût the

time differential encompasses memory—the plain fact that those who had visited the Indies sensed a gap between now, in Holland, and then—but it also refers to a sense that the Indies, for many Dutch who had been born there or lived for a long period of time there, actually existed in a different stratum of time—a chaotic, subconscious phantasy time that had become an irretrievable historical past. For certain members of the Dutch bureaucratic class, the doubt raised questions about the morality of the colonial regime that, according to Couperus, was the source of the decadent and cruel behavior. And this very doubt created a weakness, a susceptibility to the *elmoes,* which fatally destabilized some Dutch people who had contact with the Indies, such as the Resident in *The Hidden Force,* and not others. In Couperus' *Small Souls* quartet, Gerrit and his lover, Emilie, and Henri all share in sexual degeneracy, while figures like Mama van Lowe, Addy, and Constance experience an excess of desire for love, sex, or recognition. Sexual degeneracy, as defined in that period, and an excess of desire were rooted in weakness and doubt; it was the weakness and doubt that produced the gap, or time differential, from which the phantasms arose. This doubt was felt in Holland by those who had lived in the Indies and in the Indies by those Indies people educated in Dutch, where the language and the access it provided to the thought-world of the colonizer caused doubt and desire to arise in colonial subjects like Tirto and in Tirto's fictional creations. The aporia caused the experiences of colonial modernity as expressed in these literary works to become sites of phantasies. As Laplanche and Pontalis have pointed out in their argument that phantasies should not be placed within the false dichotomy of reality and illusion: "Fantasy [F *fantasme*], however, is not the object of desire, but its setting."[99] In creating the space/time of Den Haag, Batavia, and Java, Tirto and Couperus captured the disorientations of time and the hauntings of memory through the sexually phantasmic scenes portrayed in their works. It was in the decade before 1900 that Freud was honing his focus on sexuality as the key idea behind repression, hysteria, and phantasy. These ideas were circulating in Holland and the Indies just as they were coming into focus for Freud.[100]

The Times of Colonial Modernity

The Indies was the phantasy for Couperus, and Holland was the phantasy for Tirto, even though he never visited Holland. In Tirto's fiction, these phantasies take different forms from the ones in Couperus' novels, but the

characters of both authors are enmeshed in sexual promiscuity allegedly rooted in the Indies. Like Couperus, Tirto also identifies magical forces at work in the Indies, and he juxtaposes traditional magic against the enchantments of modernity in his fiction. Tirto respected Indies *dukun,* but did not fear to mock the hypocrisies of practitioners of magic, even though he knew they were out of place and out of time. As Ranajit Guha expressed in his epigraph that introduces this chapter, historians need to put questions of anxieties and the uncanny into the writing of history. Through Couperus' belief in the *elmoe*s of Java and the frequent appearance of fortune-tellers in Tirto's stories, anxieties and the uncanny reappear as echoes not quite in time or out of the time of colonial modernity. Laplanche's idea of afterwardsness, where echoes of phantasies can move forward and back in time, captures the work of the *elmoe*s of Java and Sunda. Like Couperus, Tirto saw the colonial relationship as one that had degenerate effects on Indies colonial collaborators—the Regent class—and the Dutch colonial bureaucrats as well. Collaboration with the Dutch led the Indies ruling classes to wallow in the worst excesses of Javanese and Sundanese bureaucratic hierarchies—the overwhelming concern with *hormat,* which required groveling behavior, performed both by and for the Javanese/Sundanese upper classes to mark their honor and prestige. But pursuing the phantasms of colonial modernity also posed dangers and could lead innocent people like Njai Ratna toward murder and sexual excess. The groups on which Tirto focused in his novellas were the *njai,* bureaucrats of any race who were corrupt, and figures who appeared too Islamic and whom he saw as hypocrites. In his essays, Tirto comments on colonial manipulations of the dangers of Islam represented in the European press and in colonial documents. Tirto also saw the colonial relationship itself as a site of danger and shock, the Benjaminian shock of modernity and its fetishes that in the Indies could lead to degenerate behaviors. But the story of Tirto's own phantoms was one that he never told. In Tirto's novella *Busono,* the main character had a nervous breakdown caused by malicious gossip and the machinations of his ambitious uncle, rather than by black magic. Busono recovered, but Tirto, after he had been sent into his last term of exile in Ambon, never recovered and never, as far as we know, wrote about the tragic end of his life in Batavia. The colonial betrayal at which Tirto's writings hinted turned into phantoms and phantasms that haunted Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who portrayed them in his *Buru Quartet* as reflections and returns of his own traumas.

The Indies Letters depicting the early years of the twentieth century most often place the Dutch colonials at the center of their stories. But, as the writings of Tirto show, the Dutch pass into the background as a new "Indonesian" nation begins to cohere as a site of longing and possibility. Questions of sexual desire and memory arise for Soewarsih Djojopoespito, a Sundanese Dutch-educated intellectual who could not write the lingua franca Malay that Tirto had learned to master. Soewarsih had to write her masterpiece of psychological realism in Dutch in order to have it published, and it appeared in Holland in 1940 just as Holland fell to the Germans in the early years of World War II. Soewarsih too was haunted by the magic and superstitions of Java and her native Sunda. Hindia Belanda, or the Dutch Indies of Tirto, Couperus, and Dermoût, slowly moved into domains of phantasy and phantoms as nationalists lost the awe and respect for the Europeans that gripped the first generation of educated Natives.

CHAPTER 3

A Neurotic Family Romance of Modernity and the National Form

> The psychoanalysts say that nothing is more traumatizing for the young child than his encounters with what is rational. I would personally say that for a man whose only weapon is reason there is nothing more neurotic than contact with unreason. (Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*)

> While translating my work of forty years ago I often wanted to enhance or soften the thoughts and feelings that I had poured into *Buiten het gareel* [Free from Restraints]. But I had already promised not to change even one word in the book. Besides, does it make sense for a 63 year old grandmother to "correct" work that she wrote when she was 25 years old? I felt happier just reading and smiling at my hate, my love, my anger, and my fervor of forty years ago, and longing for those days of my youth. (Soewarsih Djojopoespito, *Manusia Bebas*)

Soewarsih's Djojopoespito's *Buiten het gareel* (Free from Restraints) is an Indies novel written in Dutch about the romance and narrativity of revolutionary activity rather than a novel that hides phantoms from the past.[1] It was published in Holland in 1940, just after the Germans invaded Holland. Soewarsih does expose family secrets in her novel, and her activist older sister Soewarni Pringgodigdo was deeply upset about the family stories that the novel tells. It is thus a neurotic family romance, or family narrative, in the sense that Soewarsih's novel from the late 1930s portrays and then deconstructs the romantic nationalist imaginings of the time. She investigates the limits of Native Indies women's desires and

possibilities for emancipation in the intertwined spaces of personal and political life. Freud's notion of the "family romance" has been popularized by Lynn Hunt as an optic for looking at social histories of revolution. Hunt states: "By *family romance* I mean the collective, unconscious images of the familial order that underlie revolutionary politics." In her book *The Family Romance of the French Revolution,* Hunt focuses on the killing of the monarch during the French Revolution, his replacement by a fraternal order, and the impact of this unique situation on the status and roles of French women.[2] Freud's notion of the family romance, or "the family narrative of neurotics," refers to several stages in a child's development where the child wishes to replace one or both of his or her birth parents, for a time, by parents of higher social standing.[3] Familial orders are important in Ruth McVey's 1967 study of the Taman Siswa (Garden of Pupils) school movement of the interwar years in the Dutch Indies. Soewarsih Djojopoespito's main characters taught in these schools. McVey notes how

FIGURE 5 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, Jogjakarta, ca. 1970. Photograph by Rob Nieuwenhuys. Courtesy of KITLV Archive.

family relations, albeit very Javanese ones, structure the organization of Taman Siswa schools: "In the Taman Siswa's official philosophy, the association was seen as a 'spiritual family,' of which Ki Hadjar Dewantara was the father and the system's founding principles the mother. When in 1930 considerations of control and the implementation of the Taman Siswa's educational principles made it necessary to give the system a regular organizational structure, every effort was made to preserve the familial concept and the idea of paternal leadership."[4]

In the Indies, the paternal nature of the Dutch regime, the Indies Natives' desires to emulate Dutch ways in the early decades of the twentieth century as Dutch language and schooling became available to the children of the elite, and the desire for European status among various Indies peoples make the "family narrative of neurotics" an apt metonymy for the colonial situation. The Indonesian Revolution has not yet been studied as a family romance, and that is not my intention here, but I see the idea of the family romance as a useful one for looking at the early Indonesian nationalist period that is portrayed in novels, letters, essays, and speeches. Hunt mentions that she does not want "to account for" the work of art or literature; instead she wants "to get at the common historical and imaginative processes that animate painting, engraving, and literature—as well as political events during the French Revolution."[5] Hunt's focus on deconstructing rather than accounting for imaginative processes is a useful one. Soewarsih Djojopoespito's Eurasian mentor Edgar du Perron argues that although her novel *Free from Restraints* addressed many of the nationalist issues of its day, the main and deeper theme of the book emerged in the stories of Indies romantics who gave up secure jobs as lawyers and doctors because they did not want to work within the *gareel* (chains) of the Dutch government.[6]

Freud's 1908 idea of the family romance, or the family narrative of neurotics, differs from Nicolas Abraham's idea of transgenerational haunting, developed in the 1960s and 1970s, and discussed in Chapter 1. Abraham acknowledged a debt to Freud and often to Sandor Ferenczi in all his work, even though Abraham felt free to ignore parts of Freud's oeuvre that he did not find useful. Freud's brief paper on the child's wish for different and better parents, which was based on his theorization of the Oedipus complex, might be reflective of Freud's and his generation of German Jews' own wishes and desires in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Abraham and Torok's work on transgenerational haunting arose from their clinical

practice with patients who were traumatized by family secrets that most often were rooted in European experiences during and after the Holocaust.

The only Dutch novel written by an Indies Native was published with the help and encouragement of du Perron, a Eurasian writer and novelist famous for his own semi-autobiographical work, *Het land van herkomst* (Country of Origin), about growing up as a Eurasian with Dutch status in the Dutch Indies (1899–1921) and his later life in the intellectual circles of Amsterdam and Paris. Du Perron did not live to see Soewarsih's novel appear in 1940. He nurtured the novel during a trip back to the Indies in the mid-1930s and brought it to Europe when he returned in 1939. Du Perron died suddenly of a heart attack at age forty when the Germans invaded Holland in May of 1940.[7] Soewarsih's novel serves as a situated testimony of its time and shows how Ir. Soekarno, an early nationalist leader and later Indonesia's first president, anchors the emerging ideological field of Indies nationalism.[8] The Indonesian nationalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s can be seen as a family romance that first enchanted and later disenchanted those engaged with it.[9] Translated selections from *Buiten het gareel* are drawn from both the Dutch and Indonesian editions of the novel. For both texts of her novels, Soewarsih had to write and later translate her work under imperial eyes: first those of the Dutch colonials and then those of Indonesia's repressive New Order regime (1966–1998). The figure of Soekarno haunts *Buiten het gareel.* The main characters, the young activist married couple who work, as Soewarsih and her husband did, in the wild schools of the 1930s Dutch Indies, both admire and become disillusioned with Soekarno in the novel. In the previous chapter I noted that Tirto and Couperus were writing in the time period when Freud and others were formulating their concepts of hysteria, trauma, and sexual desire. A generation later, Soewarsih and her circle of Dutch-educated Sundanese and Javanese nationalists were reading and studying the works of Freud.

Soewarsih and the Writing Life

> It is dangerous to let yourself sink into memories of your youth. You're like a deep sea diver who draws only beautiful things up to the surface. He leaves the ugly and the crude things behind and surveys his booty with nostalgia and melancholy, imbuing it all with the magical light of dreams. I am like that diver. But who could blame me if I make this

> period of my youth too beautiful because people's emotions are their own possession. Critical judgment has nothing to do with it and sometimes is even a hindrance for emotion.[10]

In March of 1975, Soewarsih (1912–1977) received the happy news from the Dutch scholar Gerard Termorshuizen that *Buiten het gareel,* her novel of 1940 about a husband and wife teaching in "wild schools," schools without Dutch colonial government subsidies, in the 1930s Dutch Indies was finally going to be translated into Indonesian. A month later the Dutch scholars found the funding for Soewarsih to do the translation herself.[11] Her Dutch novel was written in the late 1930s for interested Dutch readers in Holland and the Dutch-educated Indies intellectuals and activists, both in and out of jail, who were her friends and colleagues. She also wrote for the famous Dutch writer and novelist Edgar du Perron, her mentor and friend. The timing of the original publication was not auspicious, however, and her book, published in 1940, fell victim to the end of Dermoût's *tempo doeloe* (time past) world for the Dutch Indies and the beginning of time future for the emerging Indonesian nation. Soewarsih's Indonesian translation, *Manusia Bebas* (Free Human Beings), was written for a postcolonial audience whose interest in "history" was repressed by the Suharto regime and published in 1975, during the repressive years of the regime. Soewarsih did make many small changes—most due to the different times and different audiences—although she had promised her Dutch funders that she would not change a single word. Both versions, in their own way, could lay claim to contested ideas of authorial intention.

According to the opening pages of *Buiten het gareel,* Soewarsih's choice of language for this, her second, novel was difficult for her at the time, and the dilemma sheds light on the literary politics of the interwar years in the Dutch Indies. As a native speaker of Sundanese who was Dutch-educated from the age of six, Soewarsih did not have command of lingua franca Malay, discussed in the previous chapter, or of **Balai Poestaka Malay**. She had written her first novel in her native Sundanese, but it was rejected by the Balai Poestaka, the Committee for Popular Literature, set up by colonial government in 1908 to provide more reading material in Native languages.[12] Soewarsih's Sundanese novel *Marjanah* is completely different from her Dutch novel published in 1940. It has a different plot and different characters, and is more didactic and sentimental, two qualities that her mentor Edgar du Perron helped her avoid in her Dutch novel, in which

he encouraged her to draw on her own experiences.[13] Although some have assumed that her novel was rejected by the Sundanese branch of the Balai Poestaka in the 1930s because of the novel's stance against polygamy, the reasons given to Soewarsih were that her command of Sundanese was substandard.[14] *Buiten het gareel* also criticized the practice of polygamy, but its publication in Holland allowed Soewarsih the freedom to say what she wished.

Soewarsih was born in Cibatok, around twelve miles southwest of present-day Bogor. She was the third of six children and came from a family of mixed ethnic background. Her father was Sundanese, and her mother came from a Chinese family that had converted to Islam. Her mother's parents were the ones with the money to educate all their grandchildren in Dutch schools, and her father was the one who argued for the girls as well as the boys to receive the best education to be had in the colony in those days.[15] Soewarsih's relationship with her more outgoing and more outspoken older sister, Soewarni, was an important resource for several of Soewarsih's novels. Whether the relationship was as fraught as the one presented in her second novel, *Buiten het gareel,* or more the supportive one presented in her later novel *Maryati* remains an unanswerable question, but it is clear that Soewarni served as an important interlocutor for Soewarsih throughout her life. Both Soewarsih and Soewarni went to a Kartini School that was opened in Bogor (Buitenzorg) in 1914; Soewarsih entered in 1918, two years after her elder sister.[16] From the Kartini School they went on to MULO (Advanced Dutch Elementary School) in Bogor. Soewarsih then continued to a Kweekschool (European teacher-training college) in Surabaya from 1928 to 1931, where she was one of two Indonesian students in a class of thirty. Both sisters joined the early Javanese nationalist youth organization Jong Java in the 1920s. Soewarni at age sixteen was already an important figure.

Much of Soewarsih's early married life seems to be reflected in *Buiten het gareel,* and more of her story appears below. It is tempting to read the work as autobiography rather than fiction, but this does a disservice to Soewarsih's talents. I will explore below some of the standards she learned from du Perron about writing good fiction and how good fiction speaks a certain kind of truth, and I will return to a discussion of Soewarsih's work as autobiography in the concluding section of this chapter. Historians often want to believe that a work is autobiographical in order to assess its historical utility. Soewarsih used her own experiences as inspiration for

her literary art. The novel and its Indonesian translation, not forgetting the long time period between the two iterations, are situated testimonies that bring to light debates over female subjectivity and the ambivalences that permeated Indonesian nationalism in the interwar years and the early New Order period. The novels capture the texture and flavor of the neurotic family romance of Indonesian nationalism, and both the Dutch and Indonesian versions of her most famous novel play with memory and nostalgia, serving as entry points into discussions of both female and male subjectivity.

Buiten het gareel was written during the mid- to late 1930s, perhaps the nadir of the Indonesian nationalist movement. At that time, Soekarno, Soetan Sjahrir, Mohammad Hatta, and other famous nationalist leaders were in jail or in exile. Indonesians known as Dutch "cooperators" were the only ones left with freedom of movement and expression, and memories of the heady days of the late 1920s and early 1930s were viewed with nostalgia and melancholy. Soewarsih and her husband, Soegondo Djojopoespito, were teachers and activists. Soegondo had been close to Soekarno in the early 1930s even though he remained in Sjahrir's circle for the last decade of colonial rule and the years of Soekarno's presidency (1945–1965). Soegondo was an important activist of the early interwar period and had been the chair of the Second All-Indies Youth Conference in Batavia, where on October 28, 1928, the second day of the conference, the famous Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath) was declared, stating the goals of the nationalist movement: one homeland, one people, one language.[17] Among other things, the oath meant that the nationalists would now try to carry out their struggle in what had been known until then as the Malay language, now renamed Indonesian, rather than in Dutch. Dutch had been and, for another two decades, would remain the intellectual language of writing, thinking, and socializing. Most of the important documents of the interwar years were conceived and written in Dutch. The switch to "Indonesian" would be difficult for those whose mother tongues were Sundanese, Javanese, or one of the other languages of the archipelago. In their own married life, Soegondo and Soewarsih represented this split. Soegondo's mother tongue was Javanese, while Soewarsih's was Sundanese. With each other they spoke Dutch.

Soewarsih and Soegondo taught at various "wild schools," as the schools that operated without direct colonial government subsidies or control were called in the 1920s and 1930s. As such, these schools could

be shut down at any time, and teachers could be taken off to jail or forbidden to teach (D *onderwijsverbod*) by the Dutch authorities if the teachers engaged in illegal nationalist activities.[18] This was the period in which Soewarsih's novel is set. Her main characters, Soelastri (hereafter Lastri) and her husband, Soedarmo (hereafter Dar), start out as teachers at a Taman Siswa (Garden of Pupils) "wild" school in Bandung, where Dar has been appointed by Soekarno as head of the school.[19] The precipitating event of the novel is Lastri's feelings of rejection over the return of her Sundanese manuscript from the Balai Poestaka and her realization that she has failed, and her novel will never be published. The novel describes well the sensuousness of the manuscript pages, the paper and ink, the long hours spent writing, the costs of copying it and sending it, and the help that her husband gives her in that exciting time.

The psychological slant of the novel is already apparent in the first few pages, and the narrative voice switches between characters and, as will be shown below, sometimes between first and third person voices to capture Lastri's feelings. "Did she really feel ashamed that her work had been rejected? Did she feel it as a humiliation? No, she was both furious and broken-hearted."[20] The narrative offers a mixture of psychological realism mixed with fantasy as Lastri talks to the stars and they whisper back to her. The first chapter also opens the ongoing conversation between Lastri and Dar about their relationship, their work, and especially Lastri's need to express her feelings. Lastri ponders why her novel has been rejected and whether it is useful to write in Sundanese anymore. Dar wonders why she cares what the Dutch and their collaborators think. He knows the Balai Poestaka only publishes didactic, uplifting literature believed to be good for the people (D ***volk,*** I *rakjat*). Dar thinks Lastri is too sentimental, and he wonders why she should not publish in a local language that will have a longer life in Indonesia and will enrich the literary tradition, even though this logic has obviously not worked out. He tells her to write in whatever language she wants, but he never specifically suggests Malay/Indonesian, by the 1930s the established language of the national movement. Lastri decides she will never write in Sundanese again.

As their conversation continues, Dar comments on the loud radio from the neighbor's house, which gets on his nerves. He says people live like the radio song: senseless, hysterical, only trying to promote the colonial collaborator **Volksraad** (People's Council) and trying to make money as quickly as possible. He is nostalgic for Soekarno's time of the late 1920s,

when people who now ridicule Lastri and Dar were happy to say they were their friends. But they are down and out because they have no money, even though, if measured by their intellect, they are better than the others. Even their parents measure success by how much wealth and status their children have. Both Dar and Lastri speak of the loneliness of life, and Lastri explains how her two children help to fill it. She tells him she feels the loneliness more than he does, and Dar says that is only human and that no one can lose herself or himself in another. Dar complains that no one has time to think anymore. People toe the line and torture themselves competing with each other. "Everyone wants to be exactly like everyone else. Masses, hordes, sheep. Originality is condemned. And so we push ourselves further away from freedom."[21]

The above paragraphs capture important subthemes of *Buiten het gareel:* disillusionment with cooperators like those who published with the colonialist Balai Poestaka, nostalgia for the heady days before Soekarno was exiled, the loneliness and isolation of noncooperators who are distanced by those who have fallen in with the colonial government, and then back to the main theme of the family relationship between a man and a woman trying to separate the "modern" from what is Dutch or European. The romance of the nationalist movement has turned into a kind of grim reality. This formerly middle-class couple—which becomes a family in the course of the novel—is living in poverty, and all their efforts have come to naught. And through all this, there is Lastri's continuing attempt to negotiate the boundaries between her family and her writing. Lastri reminds Dar how she often worked all night on the manuscript and how she would come and gaze at his sleeping body and sit by him to calm herself. Dar tries to console Lastri even though he himself feels great disappointment about his life and his failures in the attempts to set up several wild schools over the past few years. This leads to a moment of intimacy; he tells Lastri to come to bed, and her physical closeness is comforting to him. "His arm pulled her body closer and he felt the beating of her heart. Like a sigh her breath surrounded his body."[22] These moments of intimacy and implied sexuality also thread throughout the book, unusual for an Indonesian novel of the 1930s. Lastri stays in bed, thinking of her disappointment, and then slips out of bed again after Dar falls asleep.

Here is the first-person voice calling her memories back: "Inspiration, come. No, no, my own life must be the inspiration. Only I can remember, I must remember." Then she begins to write again, bringing closure to the

ending of the book, as the reader discovers, and also beginning to write the book one is about to read. "That night she began the new pages that must replace the rejected manuscript, that must be her revenge."[23] Lastri does not ponder over the question of what language to use for her new effort, although a few pages earlier writing in Dutch seems to Dar and her to be only for the present, soon to become obsolete.[24] The novel does not address the language question anymore. At that time, most educated people in the Indies spoke in Dutch. For those like Soewarsih, who began her Dutch training at age six, Dutch was her first language of literacy. It was here that the influence of Edgar du Perron was decisive. He encouraged her to write again and to use Dutch, and apparently corrected drafts of the manuscript, influenced her style, and told her to write about her own life. Critics also believe that he had an influence on her choice of a flashback technique for the novel, since it was uncommon in the Indonesian literature of the time.[25] As Soewarsih has Lastri say in the novel, the experience with her Sundanese manuscript and the Balai Poestaka publishing house turned her away from writing in a local language. Like many Sundanese and Javanese intellectuals who had gone from their local language directly into the study of Dutch, Soewarsih's "Indonesian" Malay, especially its written form, may have been weak or perhaps nonexistent.[26]

Indonesian poet and activist Toeti Heraty, in her introduction to the 1975 Indonesian translation of *Buiten het gareel,* reprinted in May of 2000, noted that Soewarsih's Dutch was better than her Sundanese and that in Sundanese she was often influenced by her Dutch grammar. Soewarsih's launch of her literary career in Sundanese and subsequent turn to Dutch suggested to Heraty that Soewarsih made a compromise based on an understanding that literary appreciation was a sphere that had already developed and been enriched in a way that could not separate the language that brought new ideas from those ideas themselves and that Dutch culture or etiquette of the colonial period was already a part of Indonesian life. "Therefore the rise of national identity encountered its 'seeds' through a consciousness that was already awakened by the West."[27] Heraty responded here to comments du Perron made about Dutch sentiment that, according to him, had to pervade a novel written in Dutch. Heraty suggested that Dutch sentiment had already pervaded the Indies and the new "Indonesian" nation, and this hybridity could not be erased by time or separated from colonial modernity. This is similar to Chakrabarty's argument about modernity cited in Chapter 2: that proximity to the time

of modernity is sufficient to include what might not yet be modern in the time of colonial modernity. There is a certain irony, however, that the Dutch novel glossed over the fact that all the main characters were speaking Dutch most of the time. In the Indonesian translation, published thirty years after the beginning of the Indonesian Revolution, the reader might assume the characters of the 1930s were speaking Indies Malay, even though they were not.

In his introduction to the novel, du Perron does not ignore Soewarsih's talents as a writer, but he never compares her literary work to Dutch novels of the day. He discusses Soewarsih compared to the only other Indies Natives she knew about who had written literature in Dutch: Kartini and Noto Soeroto. Kartini was known to be a letter and essay writer, and Noto Soeroto, a member of the Jogjakarta palace elite, was a poet.[28] But Soewarsih was the first, and the last, Indies novel writer to write in Dutch. Thus du Perron says that the comparison is really impossible to make. He compares Kartini's access to Dutch education with Soewarsih's and notes how little Kartini had, while still acknowledging her role as a pioneer. He says that Kartini is more lyrical and "literary," while Soewarsih is more modern and sober in spite of her character Lastri's sentimentality.[29] The comparison of Kartini and Soewarsih is indeed a difficult one to make since Soewarsih had a full Dutch education from elementary school through college, and Kartini had to drop out after Dutch elementary school. Kartini wrote in a style of Dutch that is associated with *De Hollandsche Lelie* (The Dutch Lily), a woman's magazine that started out as a magazine for girls age fourteen to eighteen and then turned into a more feminist publication around the turn of the century in Holland. The style of its Dutch writing is flowery and melodramatic, as Kartini's is, and Kartini published several essays in the magazine. In her famous letters, Kartini was often critical of her society and of herself, but her limited view of the world from Jepara made her self-critical in a very different way from Soewarsih. I have more to say about Soewarsih's self-critical eye below.

Flashback to 1933

Soewarsih was twenty-six when she was writing her novel in Dutch, and the novel's setting dated back to 1933, when she herself would have only been twenty-one. Chapter 2 begins the flashback when the novel's heroine Lastri goes from Poerwakarta to Bandung to join her new husband

in teaching at the Taman Siswa school Sekolah Pergoeroean Kebangsaän (Nationalist Institute School), where her husband, Dar, is the director. Dar's school has both an elementary and a middle school; there are two buildings and a teaching staff of fifteen people. Lastri is surprised at the pride she feels in being forced to live with very little money with her new husband. She feels different from others who are collaborating with the colonial government and feels superior to them. But Soekarno's spirit (D *geest,* I *jiwa*) lights a fire deep in the hearts of the young (*Jiwa Soekarno menyalakan api dalamhati sanubari kaum muda*), and many become non-cooperators, while others give weak excuses for why they need to continue working for the colonial government.[30]

Although commentators like du Perron have noted somewhat simplistically the way that Soewarsih focused on so-called feminine (= personal) rather than masculine (= political) concerns, Soewarsih does not intend to highlight the heroes of the revolutionary struggle in her novel. Rather, she is interested in the day-to-day psychological and personal relations among the young activists who are struggling to teach poorly prepared students with meager salaries under the simplest of living conditions. Toeti Heraty commented on the narrow-mindedness that already in the 1930s adhered to "Indonesian" political conflicts as represented in the novel by the competition depicted between members of the People's Party and the Nationalist Party.[31] In chapter 3, Dar calls a faculty meeting where the sensitive topic of the school's failing economic condition and the faculty's wages has to be discussed. In the communal spirit of the times, Dar proposes that each teacher be paid according to need rather than skill level, and those with larger families should make more. This upsets many of the single men, who feel unwilling to pay for their colleagues' wives and children, especially if they themselves have completed more years of schooling. The novel describes the tension in the room that follows this discussion, especially from Dar's main rival, Waloejo, who keeps whispering, laughing, and being disruptive as Dar presents his ideas. Another teacher feels uncomfortable since he has the largest family and realizes he benefits from this plan but that his colleagues resent him. From this meeting on, Waloejo becomes more intent on sabotaging Dar despite their mutual party affiliation. Dar's second new plan is to foster connections between the school and the families of the students to keep continuity between school and home, to raise more money for the school, and to keep students from dropping out. His main idea is to offer language classes in Dutch and

English to the parents. Some of the teachers rebel openly because they feel they already have too much work. No one volunteers to participate. In frustration, Dar makes Lastri, now also a teacher at the school, agree to give a speech on punishment (D *straffen,* I *hukuman*) at the first meeting with the parents that will take place the following month.

One issue that is particularly perplexing for the teachers concerns the relationships between the faculty and their servants, or attendants (D *bediende,* I *pelayan*). Having servants was very typical of life in the Indies since at least the arrival of the Dutch, especially among those in the middle and upper echelons of society. It was, in fact, expected behavior to provide jobs for poorer people in the neighborhood. In some families poor relatives could take on these roles, and in poorer households children took on these roles as soon as they were old enough.[32] The narrator describes how Lastri's servant Achmad, a Batavian, has come with her to Bandung from her family home, even though Lastri has taken pride in her current poverty as mentioned above. There is also Oerip, the school attendant (D *schoolbediende,* I *pelayan sekolah*), whose behavior upsets all of them. Lastri is finding it difficult to cope with the servants who are also joining the People's Party, Dar's and most of the teachers' political party, and then deciding they are equal to the teachers. Oerip also inspires Achmad, Soelastri's servant, to break the age-old rules by tasting things like Lastri's chocolate liquor, and Oerip uses Lastri's comb when Lastri is at class.[33] This is a problem for the other teachers and for Dar too, although he pretends it is not. Dar finally becomes upset when Oerip is sitting with her friends on the veranda and offering them his cigarettes. When Lastri's servant Achmad cannot handle the change from the older relationships and finds Oerip's rudeness to her superiors too hard to bear, he asks for permission to return home, leaving Lastri feeling she is losing one more piece of her old life.

The idealistic teachers' problem of how to treat their servants/helpers/inferiors is related to the larger problem of being seen as bourgeois in a period when this is looked down upon in progressive intellectual circles. This problem comes up early in the novel, when Dar takes his new wife to visit the family of one of the older teachers. The teacher has seven children, three nephews, and an older uncle living with him, thirteen in all. He is quite poor, and Dar becomes upset when Lastri wears a shawl that he feels is too elegant for visiting poor people. Dar also criticizes Lastri for being concerned with neatness and nice furniture, all considered bourgeois problems. The word "bourgeois" is defined as having many meanings: arrogance

or pride, heartlessness, egoism, conceitedness, and so forth.[34] These "bourgeois" traits are considered a hindrance because the male teachers want to connect with the lower classes, and a large part of their party's agenda is devoted to educating the lower classes as the only road to spreading nationalist ideas among the people. In the political sphere outside of the novel, this is a major difference between the ideas of Sjahrir and Hatta, Dutch-educated nationalist leaders from Sumatra, and those of Soekarno, in the 1930s and in the Indonesian nationalist struggle. Sjahrir felt that the people had to be prepared for the time when Indonesia could emerge as an independent nation through careful political education, while Soekarno felt that unity, political affiliation, and harmony alone could lead to independence more quickly.[35] These arguments, while intrinsically interesting and important, represent the kind of masculinist politics Soewarsih moves away from in her novel. Aside from the novel's idealist teachers' relations with their inferiors, a larger problem lies in relations between men and women. The narrative voice of Soewarsih's novel explains how Dar cannot bear it that Lastri follows her own wishes and how he feels insulted by it. He has been brought up to believe that women are there to serve their men and have a lower position in society, despite all the modern theories of equality and freedom for women to which he pays lip service. Lastri knows that Dar has imbibed these beliefs along with his mother's milk.[36] And yet: "This unusual life that combined bohemians and respected teachers had a particular fascination for Soelastri [Lastri]; it reconciled her with reality and she began to feel at home in these surroundings."[37]

Toeti Heraty comments on Soewarsih's depiction of marriage and traditions: "We indeed follow the changing perceptions of marriage and not just the traditions of marriage, but also the beliefs in what are called superstitions like the existence of ghosts, spirits, magical sacred places and other forms of reverence. Even further, understanding the curses that result from transgressing customs and traditions bears consequences that will have to be faced later in life."[38]

Heraty makes a connection between the world of marriage customs and the larger question of the Javanese spirit world. In his introduction, du Perron does not comment at all on this mystical world that Soewarsih paints in her novel. Soekarno's Javanist ideas of the nationalist struggle included and built upon these beliefs that were still very strong throughout Sunda and Java, while Sjahrir, born in the Minangkabau region of western Sumatra and having spent time in Holland, had no time or patience for

such beliefs. Du Perron himself grew up with these beliefs in West Java and perhaps took them for granted. In his introduction, he discussed what he termed the two main themes of the book as women's consciousness and the political struggle and saw them as deeply intertwined.[39] The ways in which Soewarsih connects these beliefs to questions of marriage, education, and the political and ideological struggles of the novel's characters is one of its strengths.

Although he does not mention the spirit world, du Perron does discuss the romanticism of the fight for survival (*strijd om het bestaan*) for those in the Indies who were just coming into a new consciousness at what du Perron calls the dawn of basic education among a people who had mostly been illiterate. He says that Soewarsih's novel paints this romantic atmosphere—which is more complex than one would think at first glance—very well. He explains that Soewarsih's book is about this period of the wild schools and noncooperation, but, at a deeper level, it is about the romanticism of a group of Indonesian students who give up their jobs or their educational plans as lawyers, doctors, and teachers to break away from the chains of the Dutch colonial government, and therein lies the meaning of the title of Soewarsih's book. He says Soewarsih's presentation of Soekarno, whom du Perron calls a ***volksmenner*** (demagogue), was written with a simple brushstroke, pale (D *bleek,* I *pucat*) because it is written by a woman, but nevertheless Soewarsih's description of Soekarno, and Lastri and Dar's place in that world, is right on target.[40] These comments by du Perron, although full of praise, evaluate Soewarsih's novel in terms of its success in capturing what he saw as the spirit of the time. He suggests her portrait of Soekarno is too light-handed because she is a woman, rather than thinking she might have had other reasons for painting a shadowy portrait of the great man. Heraty, in contrast, likes the unadorned way that Soewarsih renders Soekarno as someone who is a commanding speaker and public personality—but also shy in face-to-face meetings—someone who follows traditional Javanese customs, and someone who likes women. The novel depicts the period when Soekarno has been released from prison for the first time at the end of December 1931 and just before he is jailed again in August of 1933. During that time, Soekarno lives in Bandung at the house on Astanaanyar Street with "his beautiful wife, Mrs. Inggit" (*istri Ibu Inggit yang ayu*), who is older than Soekarno and so spoiled she could not manage the household, which was a center of activity, and this is before he left her for another.[41] These "brushstrokes" of the man were not

visible to du Perron even though they are telling ones. It is also possible that du Perron did not understand the ideological position that Soewarsih took through her literary moves. She has great sympathy for Soekarno and for his harsh treatment by the Dutch, but, as mentioned above, she and her husband were aligned with the Sjahrir-Hatta group from the 1930s through the 1950s.

Soekarno and Javanese/Sundanese Beliefs

One of the fullest descriptions of Soekarno in the book comes when Dar and Lastri visit him at the house in Bandung, mentioned above, where he lived with his wife, Inggit, and a young activist, who was in jail with Soekarno, and the activist's pregnant wife. Dar goes in to talk with Soekarno, while Lastri talks with Inggit and the young woman who runs the house and then becomes Lastri's friend. When it is time for them to leave, Lastri is shy and is blinded by Soekarno's powerful personality. Soekarno is described here as a lion of a man with a broad chest and proud bearing. Lastri finds him a romantic figure and even questions whether she is infatuated with him. Lastri remembers seeing him at his famous trial in 1930 with her sister and listening attentively to everything until they had to leave because they could not bear the smell of the sweat of the people around them. This sensitivity to the smell or unwashed nature of the "people" is reminiscent of Couperus' portrayal of the colonial elite character Constance from the *Small Souls* quartet, discussed in the previous chapter, where, before her decision to educate herself, Constance had also given money to the poor in the hope that they might wash themselves.

All these memories make Lastri shy, and she cannot even get out one word when Soekarno says good-bye to her as she and Dar are leaving Soekarno's house. Dar is also fascinated by Soekarno, and he tells Lastri about Soekarno's famous speech "Indonesia Accuses" at his 1930 trial as Dar and Lastri walk home. Dar explains how just hearing his deep voice carried people away, and in his voice and his gestures one could feel his honesty and straightforwardness. The hearts of the people listening to him were carried away. Then Lastri remembers the time when she and her sister Marti saw him, so pale and thin as he emerged from prison, and how she hates the Dutch, who did this to him. That is when she sees through the Western idea of culture, or civilization (D ***beschaving***, I ***kebudayaan***), that is so treacherous and puts self-importance over the name of God and

the law. Lastri asks Dar about Soekarno and if it is true that he is shy when he is not in front of crowds, and Dar says yes, he is. Then Dar says that he has great respect for Soekarno and there is nobody like him in the world, but they must remember that he is only a man with faults and all, especially his weakness for women.[42] When Lastri mentions religious belief, Dar tells her how Soekarno burns incense on Thursday evenings (*malam juma'at*)—the special night to undertake mystical austerities—takes care of his magical Javanese daggers (I *keri*s), and fasts on Mondays or Thursdays. Lastri is fascinated and tells Dar those practices are good for him and leaders like him even if it is not good for the masses to know. That makes Dar upset because he believes all superstitions (J *gugon tuhon*) are bad for people, make them weak, and give them false and misguided hopes. Lastri thinks: "Yes, we are modern, but even we in our hearts reserve a little space to burn some incense in the moments when we lose hope."[43]

In the novel, Soekarno serves as an anchoring point (F *point de capiton*) for the developing ideological field of Indonesian nationalism. The figure of Soekarno in the novel is able to suture its few Indonesian readers and sympathetic Dutch ones into ideological positions that can resolve the tensions between older village practices and newer ideas of modernity. Soekarno is an engineer, one of the most modern professions, and yet he is also at ease with Javanese traditions as described by Dar in the novel. Soekarno can weave these contradictions together in his speeches and writings, and this is what endears him to the populations of Java and Sunda. Both inside and outside the novel, Soekarno's ability to move comfortably in spiritual and mystical worlds eventually leads to his success as the focal point for Indonesian nationalism. The more realistic and penetrating insights of Soetan Sjahrir, Soewarsih and her husband's political ally outside of the novel, who had no tolerance for such superstitions, prevented Sjahrir from becoming the kind of populist nationalist figure that Soekarno became. And Soekarno was able to maintain this role in the emerging nation from the late 1920s until the 1960s as he was able to reconcile the fears and desires of many Indonesians over the contradictions of modernity.

To delve more deeply into connections between local beliefs and language, there is a chapter in Soewarsih's novel about the meeting, mentioned above, that Dar organizes between the students' parents and the teachers in order to raise money. Dar offers the parents language lessons in Dutch or English, to attract more students, and to raise spirits in general. Dar gives a speech—although it is difficult to figure out what the language

of this speech could have been—where he delineates some ideas about Javanese/Sundanese beliefs about the self, the "I." "We Indonesians call this I 'the older brother,' who watches over us. Religious people call this I the conscience [D *geweten*], that which knows how to distinguish good from bad." In the Indonesian text, "conscience" is translated as "an angel, the small voice within [*hati nurani*]," easily finding vocabulary within the Javanese/Sundanese spiritual world.[44] Language in the two iterations of the novel moves here between Dutch, Javanese/Sundanese, and Indonesian in fluid and reflexive ways. Later in the evening, the parents are given the opportunity to ask questions, and one older man tells them they must honor the ***danjang*** (guardian spirits of trees, streams, and so on) by offering *toembal* (offering used to prevent misfortune). The old man tells them they need to plant coconut trees in front of the school and to chase away the spirits that live in the *kemiri* trees in the backyard of the school. Here the Dutch words fail to fill the spaces where Java's spirits and offerings live. Dar answers politely that they will see about planting the trees, and then he says: "Come on, don't we live now in a modern time and shouldn't we stop letting such things make us afraid."[45] After the meeting Lastri asks Dar if he really does not believe in the spirits. He replies that he is not certain whether they exist or not but that he himself would not want to venture into a graveyard at night. Lastri admits to him that she can feel the spirits in the backyard. She tells him her father, a self-styled mystical healer, says they should cut those trees down, or they will have bad luck. Dar laughs and tells her not to be afraid, but she thinks that the time will come when Dar too will believe her father and will ask for his help in getting rid of the spirits (D *geesten,* I *hantu-hantu*).

Polygamy, Patriarchy, and Modernity

In the novel Soewarsih handles the themes of Javanese/Sundanese traditions, modernity, and patriarchy and their interconnections with a light touch that conceals her strong opposition to the poor treatment of women under the double patriarchies of older Javanese/Sundanese traditions and colonial modernity. These issues are highlighted after the birth of Lastri's first child. Lastri's mother arrives the day following the birth, and, as the narrator introduces the readers to Lastri's family members, new tensions are introduced in the narrative. Lastri's mother wants a ***selamatan*** (ceremonial meal) to be held and wants to put special leaves on the baby's stomach, and

Dar cannot handle this. Like the Dutch Resident in Couperus' *De stille kracht,* Dar refuses to hold the required *selamatan,* although Lastri's mother burns some incense and makes some ***nasi kuning*** (rice with turmeric) and chicken, foods that are served at *selamatan* rituals, in spite of Dar's refusal. The mother thinks that the baby will be unlucky without those things, that failing to conduct the ritual is a sin (D ***zonde***, I ***dosa***) against Allah and the ancestors. Lastri has doubts about her own feelings; she also believes in the old ways and is worried not to follow them.

After another ten days, Lastri's father comes from Garut. He fusses over the baby and its name and then says calmly that he has just taken his third wife: a young woman, in fact, who has lived with the family for years. The mother and Lastri are devastated by his act. The father believes, or pretends to believe, that he has taken his second wife, Lastri's mother's nervous sister, and now Ratna, his third wife, for his family's best interests and not for himself, and Lastri's mother cannot or will not fight him or think of a divorce. He tells his wife and Lastri that he married the young women to save Lastri's sister Marti's marriage because Marti's husband was about to have an affair with the woman. But Lastri sees her father very clearly as an older man who wants to satisfy his sexual desires and then pretend that he is being noble.[46] The father and mother argue about what he has done, and the mother asks if he is not ashamed of himself, at his age, marrying a young woman. Is he not ashamed for the family? He says that Allah's blessings are great for those who are good. She should renounce this world (D *dit aardse verzaken,* I *mengalahkan kebahagian dalam dunia ini*), accept her fate, and realize that she will be rewarded in heaven. And he adds that his love for her is different, spiritual, not of this world.[47]

The juxtaposition of the debates around Sundanese tradition with Lastri's father's polygamy brings up the issue of polygamous households. If people want to cling to the older traditions, those traditions include the ability of Sundanese and Javanese Islamic men, and all Muslim men, to have up to four wives. Lastri's father does not want to divorce her mother, his first wife and the woman who runs his major household, but he rationalizes his actions by saying that they are in the best interests of the family. Lastri is very upset by her father's actions and begins to lose the love and respect that she has for him. Her sister Marti, however, is very close to the father and willingly accepts all he does and says. Although Marti is a committed feminist, the head, in fact, of one of the most radical women's groups of the time, she seems to be able to separate her feminist ideas from

the social realities of her own family. This theme continues in the narrative as it turns to explore the relationship between Lastri and her sister Marti. Before I turn to Lastri's relationship with her older sister, there is one important scene in the narrative where the Dutch appear and where the patriarchal character of the colonial regime echoes the patriarchy of Sundanese and Javanese traditions.

The PID (Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst, the Political Intelligence Service of the colonial government) arrive at Dar's school at 5:30 a.m. to search Dar's and the other teachers' rooms and take them off to jail. The presence of Dutch police officers and a passing reference to unemployed Dutch on welfare are the only places in the novel where Dutch people actually appear or are mentioned, something not unusual for Indonesian novels of the interwar period. Two Dutchmen come with one lower official, a Native administrator of low rank who is assigned to track down criminals who are "Indonesians." They look through everything in Dar and Lastri's apartment, even through their bed and drawers. They even want to bodysearch pregnant Lastri. The police pile up books until they have at least fifty, including children's stories (D *sprookjes*) like *The Book of Heroes* (*Het boek der helden*). The police are so thorough that even this title seems dangerous. The contents do not matter; the book is about heroes and thus could be dangerous. It will be inspected at the police station, where it can be used as evidence; they do not need to distinguish incriminating from the nonincriminating evidence. Lastri wonders about the motives of the police. She can understand the Dutch policemen who have a different nationality, but she does not understand the Indonesian and his resentment against the nationalists. Is he scared that if "Indonesia" becomes a reality, he will not be able to find a job? Lastri thinks that all over Java others like them are being searched, surprised that they have suddenly become criminals and hoping that there might be another types of justice besides the one being carried out by these policemen. Dar is released because he is not on the main board of the People's Party and because he has been too busy to teach political courses for a while. But the other teachers all go off in the police wagon. At the end of the chapter, there is a headline in the newspapers: "BIG RAID, WAGONS FULL OF DAMAGING EVIDENCE, NO FIREARMS, LEADING AGITATORS ARRESTED."[48]

In this police raid Soewarsih introduces specific practices of the colonial government and their intrusions into the lives of the idealistic schoolteachers. The government treats the teachers like dangerous criminals,

humiliating them, confiscating the precious books that they have gathered with great difficulty for themselves and the school library. The characters' desires for European modernity, their adoption of the Dutch language, and their Dutch education do not help them at all. And this treatment turns their idealism to bitterness. The double patriarchy of Javanese/Sundanese tradition and colonial domination, which ensnares the men as well as the women, also exposes the socialist-inflected nationalist ideology of the teachers, their party affiliations, and their attempts to be heroes in this time of distinguishing between modernity's enchantments and disillusionments. After several more failed attempts to set up schools or work at schools in which they believe, Dar and Lastri react in different ways to the disappointments of vocational dead ends and poverty.

Soewarsih and Soewarni: Memory, Autobiography, and Fiction

In addition to Soewarsih's frank depictions of the infighting and jealousies among the teachers of the nationalist movement, she also brings into focus the topic of the women's movement of the time and depicts Lastri's struggles with her older sister, Marti. After Dar and Lastri are forced to leave the Taman Siswa School in Bandung because of its financial problems and the arrest of the teachers, they make an unsuccessful attempt to find work in Jogjakarta.[49] Marti and her *prijaji,* or upper-class, husband, who works for/with the colonial government, live in Batavia, and Lastri pressures Dar to go to Batavia when Marti writes to say there might be a job for him as a government clerk. He does not want to go, but Lastri urges him, and, when he writes to say the job is not a good one for him and he will return to Jogjakarta, Lastri follows him to Batavia. When Lastri arrives at Marti's, Dar is angry with her for forcing him into a government job he clearly hates and that compromises his ideals. Lastri does her best to woo him back, and, in the heat of the Jakarta night, the narrative once again introduces a subtle promise of sexual intimacy.[50] Is this a moment of betrayal of the nationalist cause? Does sexual desire stitch up the gap between Lastri's bourgeois needs and her political commitments? Does the figure of the nation bind this novel together? Or is it the question of woman and the nation and women and men and their relationships? In Soewarsih's novel, family relationships function as an allegory for the nation. To the extent that men and women cannot work out their relations with each other, how will the nation function as a unity? This remains a constant question in the

novel because the status of the nation as an anchoring point for these characters is still in flux. Soekarno is the anchoring point because the nation cannot yet be envisioned. The colonial conditions under which the nation is forced to emerge make the wild schools themselves ambiguous. This and other ambiguities of colonial modernity are ongoing themes in the novel.

For example, in the family relationship between Lastri and her feminist sister, Marti, Marti is high-strung, irrational, jealous, childish, superstitious, and sometimes mean and cruel. Marti worships their father, whom Lastri has come to distrust and condemn, and Marti believes strongly in his powers as a *dukun,* or ***kijaji***-like figure, even though she too is a nationalist and a leader of one of the most radical feminist groups of the time. Dar and Lastri are forced to stay with Marti and her husband for several months while Dar works at his hated job. The relations between Marti and her husband and Dar and Lastri soon deteriorate, and Soewarsih draws the character of Marti as a psychologically unstable woman who cannot control her frequent outbursts of anger and rage. In one fight between the sisters over their father's condescending attitude toward Lastri's husband, Dar, who has lower class status than Marti's husband although both are well-educated, Lastri says: "I will not be frightened by curses and threats of bad luck. I make my own life, and I can't worry about the rest."[51] This is in response to Marti's continual threats that Lastri and Dar are cursed by fate because of their failures to observe the necessary rituals that will protect them from the supernatural world. This curse could be mediated by following their father's advice and allowing him to be their "healer" of sorts, and Marti is infuriated by Lastri's rejection of her advice. Marti's ability to believe in patriarchy and tradition and still be a feminist/nationalist is another of the contradictions that disrupts the discursive emergence of the nation. whose contested status was coming into focus at this time.

When Lastri tries to escape from the criticisms of Marti and the complaints from Dar about his job, she reads novels and writes poetry. Marti criticizes that, too, and physically tries to grab Lastri's writing book. Marti says: "I can certainly judge your poetry. Come on, let me see it." Lastri, who cannot bear her sister's belittling of her literary aspirations, will not let her see her writings. Marti continues: "How sentimental to scribble things about your personal life. As if it's any use for the world. It's not worth anything for anyone." Lastri replies that it is worth something for herself. This introduces the well-known debate over the social value of literature that had taken shape in the Indies during the 1930s in the pages of the

nationalist literary journal ***Poedjangga Baroe,*** discussed in the next chapter. Thus Soewarsih's characterization of Marti presents a woman extremely conflicted over her values in life and her ability to control her emotions. To prepare herself for the upcoming Second Indonesian Women's Congress (D Indonesische Vrouwencongres, I Konggres Perempuan Indonesia), where Marti has to give a speech as head of the Aware Woman (Perempoean Insjaf), Marti goes to the village for a few days to try to write. She quickly returns, unable to take the quiet, and shows her husband some of what she has written. He replies: "Leave out the part where you compare the bourgeois women to bloodsucking worms. Later we won't be able to hang out with our friends. And that would be really inconvenient, because now is when we really need them."[52]

There are poignant descriptions of how Marti's husband flirts with a young member of his wife's women's organization at a meeting at their house and the fighting between Marti and her husband until he threatens to hit her and she dares him to do it. This description of Lastri's sister's contested marital field sets the background for Soewarsih's depiction of the Second Indonesian Women's Congress in Batavia. Marti, who is strongly against polygamy—except her father's—has a fight with a pro-polygamy woman, and her organization Aware Woman withdraws from the congress and thus comes to have little influence on the women's movement in the novel.[53] Soewarsih subtly highlights the link between Marti's problems with her husband and her inability to be effective at the congress, and the episode also illustrates how women are by no means exempt from the infighting that exists among male activists. The episode ends with Dar, as he looks for a house in Buitenzorg (Bogor), where he wants to build a new school for Lastri. Dar's prohibition from teaching (*onderwijsverbod*) is lifted by the police, and he and his family move to their new house, full of excitement and enthusiasm. Lastri's father visits them, says their house is haunted, and quickly leaves, embarrassed by their poverty. Marti decides that Dar and Lastri are both selfish, that they have ignored her advice and Lastri's father's advice as well. Marti writes them a mean-spirited letter, with a bit of money in it, and says this will be the last of the funds that she can give them.[54] Now they are truly poor.

Soewarsih's characterization of Marti, in addition to being part of this neurotic family romance, raises many questions about the book as a supposed semi-autobiographical work. As mentioned above, Soewarsih had a sister named Soewarni who was two years older than she and a leader in

the feminist movement of the time. Her women's organization was called Isteri Sedar (the Aware Wife/Woman), very similar to Aware Woman, the name Soewarsih gave Marti's women's organization in the novel. Like Marti in the novel, Soewarni was married to an elite man, Abdul Karim Pringgodigdo, who had studied in Holland and worked in a high position for the colonial government, and both Soewarni and her husband were in the circles around Edgar du Perron and Soetan Sjahrir. In his book on du Perron's time in the Indies, Kees Snoek describes Soewarni's and her husband's reactions to Soewarsih's book and cites a long passage from an essay that Soewarni published in 1951 on the subject of *Buiten het gareel.*

> This book was written with hateful feelings because my husband at that time worked for the colonial government and hers did not. Besides that, all of life's difficulties were on my back, and I was not able or clever enough to help them out, let alone our parents and family as well as friends who were still studying and weren't receiving government scholarships anymore because the Indonesian Student Organization [PPPI] movement of the time was considered to be very leftist [*merah sekali*], and also became our problem.
>
> From these material limitations, misunderstandings and hatreds arose that didn't give the impression that we were that way because we were unable [to help], and out of that the book *Buiten het gareel* was written, a book that contained things that weren't true. Du Perron knew this, but it was as if he made the effort on purpose to get me to write another book in defense that also could be published. And he said: "I hope, N[ining], that you will eventually write a book against *Buiten het gareel.*"[55]

Soewarni never did write a book rebutting her sister's novel, but her reactions seem to indicate that a lot of what Soewarsih wrote hit very close to home.[56]

Romance and Enchantment

After Dar and Lastri move into their new house, the most important moments of romance and enchantment of Soewarsih's novel begin, almost two-thirds of the way into the book. Dar and Lastri are now living in poverty. They have no furniture in their new house, which seems to both

of them to be haunted, and there are no maids or servants around for the first time. Lastri has to wash their clothes herself in their backyard. She complains about this to Dar, who is watching her with their young daughter, but there is also a titillating aura to the scene as her sarong is hiked up and her *kebaya* (blouse) has been tied to expose more skin than Javanese/Sundanese women might normally show. In the midst of Dar and Lastri's falling-out with Marti and her husband, a new friend has come into their life, the young student Trisno. Dar and Lastri strike up a friendship with Trisno, his wife, and several others of their circle. This group of nationalists becomes a Habermasian ideal-speech community. The joys of intellectual life move to the forefront of the story as the activists assemble to study the important books of the time. They eventually decide to open another school together, to publish a weekly paper, and to start a library. But intertwined with this intellectual excitement is Lastri's attraction to Moehammad, a young unmarried fellow traveler who is in Dar and Lastri's new circle of friends. Thus the romance of the revolution is intimately tied with sexual desire as well.[57]

A bit earlier in the narrative, Trisno, Dar's new friend, asks Lastri if he can recommend or bring her a book. He mentions Nico van Suchtelen's *Demonen* (Demons), but Lastri says she is bored by Dutch literature, except Multatuli, of course. Dar adds that he prefers Freud himself rather than van Suchtelen's *Demonen,* and he tells Trisno to read Marx and Künkel to better understand the demons in a man's soul. Dar recommends Fritz Künkel's *Karaktervorming door zelfopvoeding.*[58] Dar believes it is hunger and poverty that bring out the demons in people's souls rather than inner secrets (D *inwendige secretie,* I *nafsu birahi*).[59] In Dar's and Trisno's excitement about their similar passions for reading, they decide to organize a Künkel evening (D *Künkelavond,* I *malam Künkel*) devoted to reading the work of Künkel and discussing it together.

In an essay that she wrote about du Perron after his death, Soewarsih's older sister Soewarni describes the ways in which Edgar du Perron, whom they all adored, taught her and her sister, their husbands, and their friend Soejitno Mangoenkoesuma, brother of the exiled nationalist hero Tjipto Mangoenkoesoema, about ideas and reading. "It was remarkable how Du Perron, with all the love and devotion, fairness and sincerity of an older brother, cleverly and in subtle and tacit ways tried to raise the quality of our learning and reading by inviting us often to debate and discuss important books, describing for us the thinking patterns and circumstances

FIGURE 6 Charles "Eddy" du Perron (right) and André Malraux in France, ca. 1933. Courtesy of G. J. Resink Collection, KITLV Archive, Leiden.

of guides like Menno ter Braak, Gide, and Malraux, who were his close friends." And further on she quotes words that she remembers du Perron said: "When you read a book, ask about the soul of the writer, and you'll find the essence of every book. Try to sense whether the writer is honest to the roots of his being or whether he lies, lies to you, lies to himself."[60]

These memories of group discussions about books and ideas were written years after her sister Soewarsih's novel, but they are reminiscent of the way that Soewarsih described the Künkel evening in the novel. Not only does this suggest that the kinds of discussions that du Perron supposedly advocated were already taking place in the late 1920s and early 1930s, but Soewarsih also painted her description of one such discussion in a way that draws the focus away from the ideas being discussed, disrupting the masculinist space of the ideal-speech community.

At the Künkel evening in the novel, Trisno is chosen to lead the discussion and is making a point about how a person can be both subject and object at the same time. In the midst of this discussion, Trisno's wife corrects one of her husband's examples, he becomes angry with her, and she retires for the rest of the evening. The female intrusion and correction serve to interrupt the scene of male desire for recognition, and these are the kinds of disruptions that Soewarsih uses in her work to extend and fuse political and personal spheres. Despite this disruption, the men love their Künkel evening; it makes both Dar and Trisno happy and full of enthusiasm for life, relieving them of their earlier depressed states.[61] This eventually leads to a plan where Trisno and his wife subsidize a school where Dar and Lastri teach, Dar and Trisno publish a weekly newspaper, and their other friend, Joesoef, serves as librarian. Lastri and Dar move into rooms in the school building and receive money to live; Dar offers his library as security for the loan until the school starts to make money. Thus they can build a lending library also. This plan arises because Dar and Lastri tell their friends that they have to leave Buitenzorg because of their poverty and go to Semarang, where they know they can find work.

The excitement of the intellectual discussion leads to the setting up of the school, the library, and the newspaper. The idealism of Dar and Trisno is evident: "Thoughts also were exchanged here [in the library and reading room] among the friends on ways to wake the people up to an auto-activity whose force would lead to a principled mass movement."[62] They are full of fire, comradeship, and enthusiasm to change the world. As usual, their determination and inspiration slowly fade as time passes, tensions arise,

ideals are compromised, and friendships flounder. Concomitant with the ideal-speech community, the narrative also explores the enchantment of sexual desire to combat boredom and take revenge on one's spouse. The rise and fall of Lastri's phantasy relationship with their friend Moehammad also marks the rise and fall of the speech community. Dar's friend Trisno decides he needs to see how the "people" really live, and, after a few half-hearted attempts to try and make it on his own, he moves his whole family into a Sundanese village about an hour from Buitenzorg. He thus abandons the school, the political paper, the library, and the dream of community with his friends. A year passes, and the school loses its ability to attract enough students, and the debt that Lastri and Dar are incurring becomes too much for them to bear.

They take leave of their friends and head to Semarang, where they live with Dar's sister and her husband and work at a school that another of Dar's friends runs in Semarang. Living with Dar's bourgeois sister and her patriarchal husband has a deleterious influence on their ideals; the work is not enjoyable, they have no community, and finally they are forced to leave, just before Lastri is about to give birth to their second child. They return to Jogjakarta, where they stay with Dar's other sister, and Dar leaves for Surabaya to try to find work right after the birth of their second daughter. Lastri, left alone, becomes almost suicidal, but her new child harnesses her to the world when she thinks her death might be a solution.[63] The narrative moves in and out of Lastri's dark thoughts and her writing. She finally stitches up the wound that has opened as the reader is brought back to the scene at the end of chapter 1, right after Lastri's manuscript has been rejected. All of this was a flashback: the novel being read is actually the new one that Lastri had started to write after her Sundanese novel's rejection. Lastri berates herself for being so sentimental, a feeling incompatible with the nationalist struggle. She struggles to remember the recent past, which is closer in time than the preceding events she narrated, but she does not have the courage to face those memories or to relive them (the Dutch word is *herhaling*) through her writing, and the Indonesian text says outright that she is scared to remember that time because she thinks she will go through all the suffering again. Then she considers the cost of the freedom that people like she and Dar seek. Is it worth the cost? Will life be so difficult for them forever?[64]

Lastri writes to Dar to tell him she is coming to Bandung and that he had better find a house for them or she will ask for a divorce. Dar, realizing

her seriousness, borrows money and finds a house. As Lastri returns to the Priangan in West Java, her home, she feels overcome with emotion and chides herself yet again for being so sentimental. She closes her book of writings in which she has confined her memories. She calls it her "magic book" (D *toverboek,* I *buku yg ajaib*).[65] At the end of the novel, Lastri comes to several realizations: one, she still loves her sister despite their fights; two, she has softened her attitude toward herself and has begun to accept her bourgeois side; three, she recognizes the craziness of the *kualat,* or curse, foretold by her father with which her sister Marti has always threatened her; four, she recognizes that, if cursed, she and Dar are both cursed and thus they belong together; and five, she questions for whom she is writing. Is it the emerging nation of Indonesia? What is the use of her memories for others, even if they are based on what actually happened? Even if the memories are true, perhaps in the sense that du Perron suggests, do they offer any guidance? She and Dar both teach in the wild schools. Maybe it is not heroic or great but . . . and then she trails off. When Dar teases her about her new realizations and cheerfulness, she responds, what if she does only want to make cupcakes for her daughter? Would either the Dutch intelligence service (PID) or the Indonesian women's movement permit that? Dar responds that she shouldn't joke around, for one day they might indeed come and make mincemeat out of her, and then what?

Family Romances, Novels, and Autobiographies

The close reading that I have undertaken in this chapter reveals that *Buiten het gareel* can be read as autobiography, as a *roman à clef,* as a novel of psychological realism, or as all three. But what were Soewarsih's own intentions with her Dutch novel? In the next chapter I discuss Soewarsih's political essays, her thoughts on nationalism, feminism, and the politics of her time. From the essays it is clear that Soewarsih's decision to avoid masculinist notions of politics in her novel was a conscious one. In various places in the novel, she distracts the reader from the political discussions taking place to comment on what is going on in adjacent scenes. Who is feeling hurt or left out of the conversation? Who is disappointed in their friends' decisions? Who is thinking about sexual desire at political meetings? These are some of the strategies Soewarsih uses to focus the reader's attention where she wants. And, most often, this means highlighting the intimate

and the personal and showing how the personal is part of the political. Du Perron had suggested that a novel should be "honest" to the roots of its author's desire and should bare the soul of the writer. In this sense, Soewarsih uses her experiences and relationships as sources to achieve du Perron's sense of honesty, and then she embroiders them into her literary art. Soewarsih would have refused to have her work judged as autobiography rather than fiction just as she refused to separate the personal from the political.

This chapter has looked closely at Soewarsih's understudied literary work in the spirit of Freud's text on the family romance and its connections to revolutionary movements and times of revolutionary enchantment. Lynn Hunt used Freud's lens to allow her to expand the research on the French Revolution by exploring the connections between families and revolutionary politics. But, in a colonial context, these family romances strike a different chord. Freud ended his brief essay on family romances—or neurotic family narratives—with a return to origins: "If we examine in detail the commonest of these imaginative romances, the replacement of both parents or of the father alone by grander people, we find that these new and aristocratic parents are equipped with attributes that are derived entirely from real recollections of the actual and humble ones; so that in fact the child is not getting rid of his father but exalting him."[66]

How does this displacement and replacement of parental figures apply in the Dutch Indies? Are the "real" parents who have been rejected in the period of colonial modernity the Dutch, or do we need to look further back to Freud's phantasmic sites of childhood memories? Are the Dutch just Javanese or Sundanese patriarchs dressed up in European clothing? Then the "real" parents would be bound up with the traditions of the Sundanese/Javanese villages and the supernatural beliefs that the nationalists at this time rejected, distrusted, or secretly believed. How is the emerging ideological field anchored in this moment of nationalist disillusionment? Certainly the group of politically naïve nationalists, whom Soewarsih portrays so well, recognizes that the Dutch, although offering them language, tastes, and sentiments of modernity, are flawed. In Soewarsih's sister's 1951 essay on du Perron, a "good" Dutch person who had made such a strong impression on them, Soewarni captures these colonial contradictions through quoting the words that she remembers du Perron saying to them in the late 1930s.

> The Dutch say that you are all stupid, narrow-minded, and lazy with no pleasures and enjoyments beyond working for your wages. The reverse is actually true and what's missing is only that your perspective and your reading is not yet universal, and your movement is still a romantic nationalism, but you are all good people, beautifully human, *gaaf* [not disfigured] and whole, and filled with a belief in justice and humanity. Just think of the Dutch: arrogant, lying about everything, about all the problems in their lives, lying to Indonesians, to themselves, to all the ideologies that they offer as their ideals. In fact they have a colonial distortion in their thoughts, and everything is influenced by this distortion until they no longer have any honesty or insight, and, due to this, all their art and culture is dead or unable to grow.[67]

There is irony in the fact that it was a Dutchman who could recognize the nobility of spirit and intellect that Soewarsih and her circle had achieved. Soewarsih's circle and the characters that she portrays in her novel have more difficulty in recognizing their own strengths and weaknesses than those of the colonizers or their own parents. Here du Perron's ideas, as remembered by Soewarni and published in 1951, are reminiscent of ideas that Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi articulated so brilliantly in the 1960s on the psychological damage of colonialism to both the colonized and the colonizer. In the colonial context of the Indies, the group of nationalists Soewarsih portrays did realize that both sets of parents were damaged. But both sets of parents had something to offer to the nationalist cause, whose horizons had come from Europe but whose future shape in the emerging Indonesian nation would have to draw on local traditions for ideas and nourishment. Soewarsih illustrates this very contradiction throughout her novel. Her narrative portrays the conflicts between Dutch reason and Javanese/Sundanese unreason, the twin patriarchies of the colonizer, as well as the older generation of the Javanese/Sundanese neurotic family. This is why Soekarno—the Dutch-educated engineer of mixed Javanese and Balinese parentage, who still respected Javanese traditions—is the only figure able to anchor the ideological field in these dark moments. His words suture the gaps between village and city, modern and old-fashioned, magic and science, creating a position and a historical frame through which his followers, and even his detractors, can view political events. Soekarno's words and their ability to move the Indonesian people

in the postcolonial period are analyzed in the next chapter as another form of situated testimony.

Chapter 4 discusses Soewarsih's political essays written for Dutch journals and compares them with Indonesian author and critic Armijn Pané's essays on Indonesian literature and culture. It compares Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel* with Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe,* or *Shackles,* written in Malay/Indonesian and also published in 1940. Soewarsih, in her brief comments on Pané's novel, is not impressed. How does Soewarsih's novel of gendered desires compare with Pané's? This is a comparison that was not made at the time because of the anxieties and uncertainties of the years just before the Japanese occupation. But the ways in which the two novels and their authors reflect the discourses of nationalism and gendered desire in the late 1930s and early 1940s are important for the formation of the ideological field of Indonesian nationalism that was coming into focus at that time.

CHAPTER 4

The End of the Nationalist Romance

> As genres approach "realism," their organization of information must clearly resemble the organization of information in everyday life. Realistic genres do not mirror everyday life; they mirror its hierarchization of information. (Stewart, *On Longing*)

> When we sat and talked on the terrace of his [Edgar du Perron's] house for hours, we had the feeling as if Dutch was our own language. We discussed Dostoyevsky, Huxley, Thomas Mann, Malraux, Gide, Slauerhoff, Vestdijk, Van Schendel, and forgot that we were looking at one of the major figures of Dutch literature. He called us by the [personal] names that we only heard from the friends of our youth. (Soegondo Djojopoespito, "E. du Perron")[1]

Soewarsih Djojopoespito fell into obscurity after World War II, but she wrote essays for several publications before the war, and a variety of novels and short stories after it. She also retold the life of the Prophet Muhammad for high school and college students in 1956.[2] Perhaps feeling sensitive to her sister's criticisms of *Buiten het gareel,* discussed in the previous chapter, Soewarsih wrote a novel titled *Maryati* that told the story of a sibling relationship in a period before the events in *Buiten het gareel.* The older sister of Maryati, the main character, is again a feminist activist, but this time the older sister is portrayed in a much more favorable light. Soewarsih moved at one point more forcefully into the genre of magical realism in her postcolonial novel *Siluman Karangkobar* (The Spirit of Karangkobar).[3] Most of Soewarsih's writings after *Buiten het gareel* are more overtly feminist.

Siluman Karangkobar tells a story that argues for the rights of the folk, the ***rakyat,*** or little people, in keeping with the spirit of the new nation in the 1950s. This equation of feminism with a concern with the *rakyat* is Soewarsih's particular reading of the needs and desires of the emerging nation. Her literary colleagues in the 1930s, mostly men, did not necessarily link the needs of women and the "people" in the same ways, although women characters were often at the center of their literary works. Other novels of the 1930s written in the Dutch Indies, Sutan Takdir Alishjabana's *Layar Terkembang,* Selasih's *Kalau tak Oentoeng,* and Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe* among them, saw the relations between gendered desires and nationalist needs in different ways from Soewarsih. All had particular visions for the independent nation, visions that would, in time, produce an Indonesian nationalism that was fractured in its origins and that never fulfilled the dreams that Soewarsih articulated so powerfully in *Buiten het gareel.* Comparing the two major novels of prewar Indonesian literature, Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel* and Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe,* as I do in this chapter, provides a unique way to look at how female and male desires for recognition, modernity, and the nation are structured around perceptions of lack.[4] The discussion then turns to Soewarsih's and Armijn's essays of the late 1930s and early 1940s. Soekarno's speeches conclude the chapter; one of his last speeches as head of state vividly evokes the loss of Soekarno's ability to anchor the nation and blur its ideological underpinnings, the focus of Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel.* These evocative speeches link the nationalist leader portrayed by Soewarsih in the 1930s to the end of the romance of the revolution in the turbulent 1960s and form a bridge to the literature of the postcolonial New Order state discussed in Chapter 5.

Structuring Desires in Colonial Modernity: Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe*

Soewarsih's major desire, her desire to write, arose within an imperial field where she failed to master her mother tongue. Although Soewarsih spoke Sundanese at home for her first six years, her language training in Dutch began in her sixth year, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the imperial Indies, Dutch was the language of prestige, of cultural capital, of universal ideas, and of imperial ambitions. But how could one fail to master one's mother tongue? Soewarsih could, of course, communicate in Sundanese, but when she tried to write her first novel in Sundanese, it was

rejected for publication for various reasons (discussed earlier), but also because her Sundanese writing was supposedly structured by Dutch ways of thinking. As Soewarsih moved through the prestigious Dutch-medium school system available to so few Natives in the Indies, Sundanese moved further and further into the background of her intellectual and emotional life. The conditions in the Indies throughout Soewarsih's adolescence in the 1920s made Dutch the language of Indonesian nationalism until the famous Soempah Pemoeda (Youth Oath) of 1928 declared Malay to be the new language of national unity in the Indies. But Dutch remained the major language of the intellectual elite until the Japanese invasion and occupation of 1942 swept it away and forced the Dutch-speaking elite to break with the past and take the Malay language seriously. All of these language dilemmas were enacted within imperial fields, either Dutch or Japanese.

Among those who mastered the new Balai Poestaka Malay language earliest, most of them seemingly unfamiliar with the extensive ***peranakan,*** or Chinese Indonesian, literature of the turn of the last century, were Sumatran writers like Soetan Takdir Alishjabana, Sanoesi Pané and his brother Armijn Pané, the Islamic writer Hamka, the famous poet Amir Hamzah, and others.[5] Compared to the hundreds of novels written by Indies and Chinese Indies writers between the turn of the last century and World War II, Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe* embraced new forms of literary modernism. Unlike most other prewar Indies writers, both Armijn Pané and Soewarsih wrote novels that did not judge their protagonists. Melodrama, moralizing, sentimentality, resolution through death—these were strategies that both Soewarsih and Armijn avoided. Both of their major novels used forms of psychological realism, but each pursued these narrative approaches in different ways. Henk Maier observes: "*Belenggoe*'s presentation of reality by way of a mixture of descriptions of the protagonists' actions and their interior monologues does not take sides in the resultant polyvocality. As a matter of fact, *Belenggoe* does not even try to keep in touch with its readers' reality—until the very last sentence of the tale in which the whole construction of distance, so carefully built up, is ruined in a single stroke."[6]

Armijn's novel *Belenggoe,* or *Shackles,* narrates the intricate relations of four main characters, two male and two female. The main character, Tono, a medical doctor, is married to Tini, the former lover of Hartono, Tono's best friend in college. Although several commentators have seen the novel's

narrative as a love triangle, this is only half the story.[7] There are actually two love triangles—Tono; his wife, Tini; and his lover, Jah; and Tini; her husband, Tono; and her lover, Hartono—even though the two triangles belong to different periods of time. Tini thinks Hartono has died, but he has gone off to join the nationalist struggle after relieving Tini of her virginity and her self-esteem, losses she cannot assimilate.[8] Tini thus lacks her virginity, a symbol of great significance to her as an Indies woman in the 1930s. Because of Tini's guilt and pride, she cannot give her husband what he needs: a wife who will take his messages—and take his shoes off—when he comes home to get the messages. Thus, Tono, seeking affection, sex, and respect from a woman, meets Jah, openly a high-class prostitute and secretly a ***krontjong*** (a popular hybrid music) singer, who will sleep with him, take his messages, and take off his shoes.[9]

Tono, unlike his creator, Armijn, who dropped out of medical school, becomes a doctor to help finance his brother's children's education. But, like Armijn, Tono is ambivalent about medicine and once preferred to be an artist, a musician. In the novel Tono plays the violin, and his wife accompanies him on the piano in the better days of their marriage. Now he loves to listen to *krontjong* music, music he feels is in tune with the modernist ambivalence and the sexual desires he feels inside. What he does not know until late in the novel is that Jah, his lover, is also his favorite *krontjong* singer. Jah satisfies Tono's longings for a compassionate, sexual woman, but Tono himself remains conflicted in the novel over his feelings for his wife. Tini, in her own tortured way, has come to love Tono in the course of their marriage, and it is her jealousy, she finally admits, that keeps her from giving Tono the respect, love, and sex that he craves.

> We married and gradually I came to love him, deeply, and I couldn't bear it. I hated that he always had to go out; I wanted him very much by my side. But that was impossible because I knew he had to go. That was his job. My jealousy was unbearable. I didn't know whom he had to examine, whom he had to visit, to touch. Maybe beautiful young women . . . without clothes. Thinking about it made me crazy. I was always afraid that I would lose him, that he would fall in love with someone else. I regretted what I had done in the past. It always kept me from letting him know how much I loved him because telling him how much I loved him would have been intentional deception. I didn't deserve to be his lover.[10]

But the only person to whom Tini can admit this is her husband's lover, a fallen woman like herself. Tini's coldness throughout the novel, her fear of showing Tono her love, her desperate need and failure to connect frustrate the reader who knows, from the privileged narrative perspective, that Tini could have reached out to Tono, and her efforts would have been rewarded.

Armijn creates a poignant portrait of two people caught in a vicious circle of lack and desire. Tono does not know that Tini is tormented by jealousy. He thinks she is beautiful and that she may love him, but he is never sure, and he resents that she is not willing to be what a doctor's wife should be. But the feelings that haunt Tono and Tini show them as ambivalent about their entry into colonial modernity. Even though they appear to their friends as the perfect modern couple, they both follow older Javanese beliefs about love and marriage where personal issues and problems remain repressed. The two characters who truly inhabit colonial modernity are Jah and Hartono, although some commentators see Jah, Tono's mistress, representing the "traditional" side and Tini, the "modern" side of the conventionally drawn divide. But looking through the optic of feminine desire, Tini is the one who wants a traditional marriage with her husband always by her side, and Jah is the modern woman who ran away from her traditional marriage and now is forced into a series of temporary liaisons, often of her own choosing. She chooses how and when to reveal parts of her hazy identity to Tono, changing names and parts of her past as their relationship deepens. She is the one who sets off for the unknown world of New Caledonia at the end of the novel, and she is the one who sings the music of modernity.[11] Jah needs to make money and does so through her sexual and artistic labor. Through her work, she is integrated into the world of capital and exchange. Both Tono and Tini are ambivalent about making money: Tono often provides his medical care for free if patients cannot pay, and Tini, who has done mostly volunteer work in her life, takes a job heading up an orphanage at the end of the novel with no mention of any salary.

Hartono, Tini's first love and Tono's best friend, although neither Tini nor Tono knows of Hartono's relations with the other, expresses his modernity in working for Indonesian nationalism. Like Lastri and Dar in Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel,* Hartono becomes involved in political work and teaches in wild schools until the schools are closed down by the government. Hartono's political options narrow until he has nowhere to turn. He lacks a wife, children, a job, and a future; he has lost his hopes and

dreams. But through his accidental meeting with Tini near the end of the novel, he sees that she is still a kindred spirit, who has also lost her hopes and dreams. In feeling empathy for Tini, whom he calls by her old nickname, "Pop," he is able to see a new way forward for himself.

> Hartono felt something stirring inside him, budding anew. He could have happily said: "Goodbye Pop, let's both live a little, find a new life. We can shoulder our burdens and throw away what ties us down."
>
> Instead he says: "Goodbye Pop, stay well."
>
> "Now you can use your old name again," Tini said mockingly.
>
> Hartono thought for a moment and answered: "You're right, I feel the old Hartono coming back." Then he turned and went out, with an air of confidence.[12]

Why does his meeting with Tini change Hartono? Does he too feel tortured by what he did to Tini: sleeping with her and then abandoning her? This is not the case. But he does find out that life can destroy people for different reasons, that she can feel as lost as he feels, even though he thinks the answer to her problem is so simple. She could just show Tono that she loves him; she could change. And that possibility that he can see for her makes him realize that he too has possibilities, that life is not over for him, that he can find a new sense of self and community.

The narrative abruptly jumps at this point to Tono's urban journey to find out who his mistress, Jah, really is but leaves Tono unaware of the meeting that has taken place in his house between his wife and her former lover. Because of his respected status as a doctor and a lover of *krontjong,* Tono is asked to judge a *krontjong* competition that evening, and he is blissfully ignorant that Jah, his Jah, has a hidden life as a successful *krontjong* singer. He is stunned by the revelation. This is now the third time that Jah has revealed a new part of her identity to him. He thinks he knows Jah; his wife, Tini, is the one he does not understand. Now he realizes he does not know Jah either. In a very realistic manner, Tono's first thoughts on how to judge her performance seem trifling at this revelatory moment as she sings her love song for the *krontjong* competition directly to him.

> Tono realized that the words were directed to him. Jah, Jah. How many points will he give her later? Can he give her a fair score? Should he give her a four, because she was pretending not to know him? Or a ten

> because her voice is really good? How can he be objective. But what is objectivity anyway? Who knows that they are acquainted, that Siti Hajati is his lover? I can give her a ten. Siti Hajati is not the person I know, it's Rohajah. Or is it? Can I say I know Jah? First she said she was Mrs. Eni and I believed her. Then she said Siti Rohajah, now Siti Hajati. . . . Is she really Siti Rohajah? She herself made him so confused.[13]

Slowly Tono comes to the realization that everything he thinks he knows about Jah is false. Perhaps her love is false too? Perhaps she has other lovers. His grip on reality comes undone. "In the midst of all those people he felt suffocated and cornered."[14] In the passage about the competition above, the narrative voice slips back and forth from first to third person. Tono is the only one in the novel whose voice is interchangeable with that of the narrator, giving the reader the best access to Tono's thoughts and angle of vision throughout the text.[15] But the narrator's perspective switches abruptly from one character to another, often in the same paragraph, even though the narrative voice remains morally neutral. Armijn makes no attempt to sew the reader into the narrative without the reader's awareness. Rather, his narrative style provides no cushion for the gaps in the text. This experience was particularly frustrating for some of his Indonesian readers of 1940.[16]

Although commentators may see *Belenggoe* as a novel that offers itself up to a feminist reading through its portrayal of the characters Tini and Jah, I find this argument difficult to accept. Female readers can identify with Tini or Jah, but neither one presents an Indonesian woman's entry into modernity in a positive light. Tini slept with her boyfriend before marriage, lives a repressed life of regret for that action, and winds up leaving her husband to march alone, unhappy, and childless into the future. Although the reader is given very little information about Tini's premarital affair—it is only mentioned twice and in very cryptic terms—whatever happened caused a trauma that her life with Tono causes her to repeat. The novel offers this fragment from Tini's thoughts: "after dancing, late at night, wanting some fresh air, a strong desire arose in the midst of the walk to return home, to bring him." And near the end of the novel, when Tini goes to find Jah to humiliate her, Jah says: "Maybe Madam remembers some years ago, when Madam was still in school, there was a chauffeur who drove Madam and a student from the Technological College?" Tini asks how Jah knows this, if she heard it from Tono, and Jah replies: "No, it was

the chauffeur himself and the old woman."[17] Abandoned once by a lover, Tini believes Tono could also abandon her; thus she emotionally abandons him and leaves his desires for a loving and sexually available wife unfulfilled. She has incorporated this fantasy of Tono's abandonment, but she neither understands it nor assimilates it. It leaves her in a depressed state, unable to feel anything for him. She eventually channels her depression into charitable work at an orphanage, where she will help abandoned children. No mention is made in the novel about Tini's lack of children. If Tini and Tono are a modern couple, then modernity, or colonial modernity, lacks a future.

Blocked from finding a model in Tini, a woman wishing to identify with Jah finds only a phantasm. Jah is a mirror for Tono, who sees in her what he cannot find in Tini. When he first meets her early in the novel, Jah calls herself Mrs. Eni and pretends she needs a doctor. Tono imagines she is a recent widow seeking comfort. Then, when he returns to see how she is, she has moved and left him a forwarding address. When he finds her, the mirror of Mrs. Eni shatters, revealing Rohajah, a young neighbor girl whom Tono had known in his youth and who had gone to some of the same schools. Then the image Tono sees is the woman he feels he needs. Jah appears as nurturing, wise, loving, sexual, anticipating his every need. Then that mirror shatters to reveal Siti Hajati, the *krontjong* singer. And this is also Tono's fantasy since he loves *krontjong* music and specifically the singer who turns out to be Jah. This final mirror shatters when Jah disappears, leaving only her voice, which haunts him from the recording of her music she has left for him. Although Jah has appeared to be the true subject of modernity, she is rather the illusion of capitalist modernity, the desiring and insatiable subject who keeps moving from one pleasure to the next before the pleasure turns into pain or lack. Jah is also childless, another indication of what the modern female subject must give up to enter the space and time of modernity.

This shattering of the female subject that Armijn traces in his novel only provides space for a male subject to enter modernity whole and alone. Tono declines to commit himself to the world of modernity. He studied medicine and makes a good living but does not behave properly in the world of capital. His old friend Mardani chides him for letting his patients go without paying him if they do not have the money, but Tono does not care about capital.[18] He models himself according to conventions of elite Javanese male behavior: he loves music and plays the violin—more in keeping with elite male behavior than playing in a Javanese ensemble; he

is refined and—until Jah—keeps his desires hidden; and he has more than one woman who thinks of herself as his wife. He is also, as far as the reader knows, apolitical, uninterested in politics at a time of growing nationalist and revolutionary sentiment. His only connection to modernity is through his love of *krontjong.* When Tini goes to see Jah at the end of the novel, and the two women bond as fallen women who have slept with more than one man, they both decide to leave Tono. Tini leaves him because she cannot give him what he needs. Jah leaves him because she knows that she is an inappropriate wife for an upper-class man. Both women decide to leave Tono for his good rather than their own. At the end of the novel, Tono must enter modernity alone. He must commit to the world of capital and science, and so he does. The shackles of the past fall away from him, and those shackles include the women who have confused him and kept him from realizing his desire for what modernity has to offer.

Each character of the novel goes into the future alone, and perhaps the novel's appearance of modernity lies in this startling thought: modernity is the world of the individual rather than the family. The three characters whose names echo and blend into each other—Tini, Tono, Hartono—suggesting that they are anchored to the world in a different way than the phantasmic Jah—all have a future in the Indonesian state coming into focus at the time. Tini will go to work at the orphanage, where she can take care of many children to fill the lack in having none of her own. Hartono, having realized that revolutionary excess is not compatible with modernity, seems ready to make a new life for himself, liberated from his conflicted relationships with both Tini and Tono. Rather than the narrative's anchoring of the ideological field in Soekarno as in *Buiten het gareel,* it is capital that anchors *Belenggoe*'s ideological field. Jah, finally, leaves Indonesia on a boat heading to New Caledonia, having served her purpose in liberating the lives of the other characters. Like the commodities of capitalism that are always moving, she moves beyond the borders of the nation-in-process. Tono replaces Jah as the phantom voice on the radio when he gives a radio interview at the novel's end.[19] He has entered the phantasmic world of desire, the Indonesian nation, and modernity.

Buiten het gareel, Desire, and Modernity

The concept of desire explored above in *Belenggoe* and in the previous chapter helps to articulate and contrast the narrative strategies and character portrayals in these two major literary works of the late 1930s.

The production of desire helps to situate characters in the time/space of Indonesia's colonial modernity because one way of looking at the birth of modern subjectivity is through the subject's awareness of lack and the need to fill that lack with substitutes in the form of commodities. The desiring subject, recognizing a lack of wholeness, enters into the world of capitalist production once she or he becomes aware that the lack can be temporarily fulfilled. For Tono, the radio is his companion for the future. For Soewarsih's character Lastri, she recognizes her bourgeois self at the end of the novel, but she is less sure what will fulfill that self. Her attempts to fulfill herself with revolutionary activity or infatuation have turned out to be unworkable. The inevitable failure of the commodity to fulfill desires places modern subjects in the colonial circulation of capital. Some among the subjects of modernity also use symbolic reproduction to narrate the experience of lack and their never-ending search to fill the emptiness of modernity and their nostalgia for the past. How does the nation form fit into the struggle of the incomplete and desiring subject of modernity? Here questions of recognition and misrecognition arise as these would-be modern subjects seek recognition from the state, from the emerging nation, and from each other. As Armijn Pané illustrates through his portrayal of Hartono, the entry of the modern subject into the world of capital cannot be achieved through revolutionary action. Commodity consumption fueled by desire is the engine that will bring into being the citizen subject of Pané's emerging nation-state. Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel* offers a very different exploration of these contradictions of modernity: desire, recognition/misrecognition, and the nation form.

In *Belenggoe,* only Hartono anchors the novel in the nationalist struggle that has been taking place in the Indies for more than two decades. Only Hartono is touched by the words and visions of Soekarno as he attempts to stitch together the many factions and nationalist groups in the Indies. As I have argued in the previous chapter, Soewarsih is particularly adept at showing how Soekarno touched many of the characters in her novel in both positive and negative ways. Although Soewarsih eventually comes to similar conclusions as Armijn about the future of the nation and the way to bring that future into being, the ideological field of the emerging nation, its citizen subjects, and their lack of recognition by the colonial government are explored in very different ways in *Buiten het gareel*. As Heraty notes: "What's most relevant here is documenting the struggle and the movement [*perjuangan dan pergerakan*] that started from a principled idealism and then had to compromise with actual life. This novel is

a document of that history of idealism."[20] In addition to its history of idealism, *Buiten het gareel* also presents the economic transitions of its young activists as they struggle to earn a living without abandoning their ideals. Their eventual failure forecloses the ideological possibility of revolutionary struggle even before the revolution begins.

One striking contrast with *Belenggoe* is the place of "mechanical sound," as Maier calls it, for the main characters of *Buiten het gareel.* Rather than finding solace in the switching of radio channels like Tono, who constantly searches for broadcasts of *krontjong* throughout *Belenggoe* to soothe his anxieties, both Dar and Lastri find the radio annoying. In Soewarsih's novel, Dar comments on the sound of the neighbors' radio, which gets on his nerves. He compares the way that people live to an irritating radio song: senseless, hysterical, advertising the Volksraad (People's Council), and trying to make money as quickly as possible.[21] This theme resurfaces again and again throughout the novel. The function of the radio as a promoter of capitalist desire is out of harmony with the revolutionary dreams of Dar, Lastri, and their colleagues. The young activists do not feel hailed or recognized by the radio's voices. Nor is there enjoyment of music, art, or theater—modern or traditional—and little positive mention is made of them. Ideas, philosophy, and seeking the illusive "people" (D *volk,* I *rakjat*) motivate Dar and his friends rather than money or art.

When they are living their ideal life at their own school in Bogor in the second half of *Buiten het gareel,* Lastri feels that they are parasites taking money from Herwati, Trisno's wife, and Dar gives her a serious lecture on the importance of their work and the nationalist movement. "If you want to serve the nationalist cause, you must set aside your bourgeois morality." Thus Soewarsih's novel offers few references to bourgeois values concerning clothing and style other than Dar's critique of Lastri when she wears too nice a scarf to visit their poorer colleagues and, later in the novel, when one of the women in their group of new friends in Bogor gives Lastri a new pair of shoes. Then, in a moment of pleasure, Lastri wears the new high heels, enjoying the clicking sound that they make as she walks. Her family also gives her cloth for a new blouse, and Dar even gets new shirt fabric from his friend Joesoef.[22] The critique of bourgeois desires and commodities is maintained until the end of the novel, when Lastri begins to accept her bourgeois desires as part of who she is. Lastri must also accept her sentimentality, presented in the novel as a gendered trait. She realizes that she is both bourgeois and sentimental, which she feels is not right for

the self-image she has of herself. "She, who wanted to be one of the fighting women of Indonesia, was also this."[23]

Dar has bourgeois desires about family life as well, as discussed in the previous chapter. He never quite sees Lastri as his equal, as a woman or as a wife, until the very end of the novel. Early in the narrative Dar tells Lastri that she can make his life better, his load lighter, by staying cheerful (D *vrolijk blijft,* I *tetap gembira*). At this point, right after their marriage, when Lastri arrives in Bandung to join Dar as a teacher at his school, she wants him to share everything with her. All she wants from him is openness and honesty. She feels happy that he needs her, promises to do all she can to lighten his load, and apologizes if she cannot be exactly what he wants her to be.[24] There is no sense here that she is offended by his request. In contrast to what he wants from his wife near the end of the novel, his feelings about a male companion are quite different. Dar has a falling-out with his close friend, protégé, and colleague Trisno, whose wife agreed to support Dar and Lastri when they had no money and with whom Dar set up the school in Bogor.

> "He has broken away from me," he thought bitterly. "Is it my lust for power that pushed him away? Am I really so loathsome that all my friends leave me? Soetrisno [Trisno] has been avoiding me for a while, even though he used to listen to me all the time. Why was he so stubborn, as if he thought he was better than everyone? And my hopes for him were so good; perhaps he is the only one whom I really love."

It is just at this moment that Trisno decides to abandon the school and move to the countryside (*desa*). Dar argues with Trisno and tells him that he will not deepen his awareness (find himself; I *mawas diri,* introspection for self-improvement) in the *desa.* Dar says he has known many people who have spent their whole lives trying to find themselves, and they still have not succeeded. Dar is incredibly disappointed that Trisno is willing to leave their work unfinished, that he sees his own self-development as more important than that of the community. And Trisno eventually moves himself and his family to the *desa,* where he sets up a small house with servants once he realizes that he cannot make it on his own.[25]

This controversy represents the heart of the conflict among many members of the nationalist movement in Indonesia at the time, and it is what Soewarsih's novel portrays so poignantly. Does one work with

the group or political party, with the government even, if it will further the nationalist cause, or does one try to stay true to his or her desires for idealistic purity? Heraty comments on Soewarsih's presentation of the noncooperators versus the bourgeois lifestyle of those Indonesians willing to support and extend the existence of the Dutch colonial regime that provides them with jobs and salaries. The problem, according to Heraty, is that the colonial regime supported the educational system that guaranteed the availability of higher education. And it was that education that gave good jobs to people as well as provided material life and all its ease, even though it was supported by entrenched feudal attitudes that would later be turned upside down, if only for a while.[26] The transformations of the colonial subject in Indonesia into the postcolonial citizen subject must first go through a required revolutionary moment, and the journey is filled with pain and disappointments. The question also arises of how the emergence of the Indonesian citizen subject might differ from a European or, more specifically, a French model.[27] Does colonial subjectivity educate the elites of the Indies into a "universal" thought-world through Dutch-language schooling that teaches the same curriculum taught in Holland and in many other parts of Europe? Du Perron said that the Indonesians he knew, the crowd around Soewarsih and her sister, were as good if not better than the colonial Dutch, but they were lacking a universal awareness that he believed would come in time.

The question of the universality and particularity of sentiment and desire is at the heart of debates about colonial modernity and postcolonial subjectivity in general. These prewar novels by Soewarsih and Armijn Pané indicate both ambivalence and desire for a universal modernity that Indonesians can enter at will. The world that is created in *Belenggoe* offers few references to localities or specificities of "Indonesia" itself other than a few references to the hybrid music of *krontjong* and some lectures Tono receives from Tini's very traditional uncle, which allow Tono to equate Javanese mysticism with European philosophy. In *Buiten het gareel,* Soewarsih paints a more palpable attachment to the region of West Java. When Dar and Lastri are forced to leave Bandung after the failure of the school that Dar had directed, Lastri expresses her painful feelings about her departure. "In the train, alone with her child, Soelastri felt that it was not just Bandung she had left but other things to which she had also grown attached: her idealism and energy. She felt broken, in body and spirit, worn out; as if she had wagered too much and, as a result, was left behind

poor and disheartened, all her power depleted." Once in Jogjakarta, where Lastri and Dar are staying with Dar's sister and her family, she thinks about how she misses the Priangan (area of West Java), where she has left her soul. The Lastri that is now in Jogjakarta is different, unknown, vague, no longer real, but a shade, a shadow, an echo.[28]

When she is back in West Java, where she can feel her power and energy return, Lastri is able to use phantasy to help her cope with the poverty and difficulties of their life. Here Lastri's desires for bourgeois modernity and sexual modernity blend. As their new activist community begins to take shape, there are abundant depictions of the enchantments of the revolutionary life, discussed in the previous chapter, where activists get together and study the intellectual works of the times. But tied with this is Lastri's attraction to Moehammad, the young unmarried fellow traveler who is in Dar and Lastri's circle. Dar has often gotten mad at Lastri because of their difficult life, and he remembers with anger that she made him work as a clerk for the colonial government in Jakarta, which he hated. Now when this happens and when Lastri thinks about how she and Dar often feel a gulf between them and live in two separate worlds, she does not feel it so painfully because she can think of Moehammad's dark eyes. The narrative traces the rise and fall of Lastri's infatuation with Moehammad and her eventual realization that she does love Dar. Lastri's ambivalence over her relationship with Moehammad causes her to reflect on her desire: "Was this feeling love, the feeling of wanting to run and meet the other person, to look deeply into his eyes as if you were looking into your own soul? Was this only a longing for a friend, or a romantic distraction from the daily routine?"[29] And a few passages later, the moment arises when she nearly dares to go out of the house alone with Moehammad. She almost goes, and then her little daughter runs in, and she remembers her life, her love for her husband and daughter, and suddenly her phantasy romance is over. For Soewarsih, sexual promiscuity was not part of the modernity that she envisioned in the late 1930s. In a new Indonesian nation where women and men would be equal partners in love and work, promiscuity is associated with the patriarchal ways of the past.[30]

These contradictions between bourgeois modernity and revolutionary modernity are presented in the novel from the gendered perspective of Lastri, who is much less certain about her commitments to revolutionary nationalism than her husband, Dar. Similar to Armijn's narrative style with Tono in *Belenggoe,* although the narrator's voice jumps between Dar

and Lastri, and sometimes to other characters, it is only Lastri's voice that blends seamlessly into the narrator's voice. The gendered perspective of the novel focuses on the masculinist issues that challenge the male teachers and their revolutionary struggles, but also presents issues of children and housework as equally important for the future. While Lastri can and does move constantly between these two worlds, Dar does not do so easily or willingly. In contrast to *Belenggoe, Buiten het gareel* is filled with children and stories of their birth and the problems of childcare. The modernity that Armijn creates is barren as Tini, Tono, Hartono, and Jah all move alone and childless into their uncertain futures. The children that do appear in *Belenggoe* either die, appear as babies to be judged for their health at fundraisers, or appear as the imagined orphans for whom Tini will care when she goes to Surabaya.

Recognition/Misrecognition and the Nation

How does the emerging nation imagined by Armijn and Soewarsih recognize its subjects as citizens? Both *Belenggoe* and *Buiten het gareel* were written in the late 1930s, when the radical activists of the nationalist movement were all in jail, in exile, or silenced. The dominant threat of the time was perceived to be German and Japanese fascism, especially by socialists like Sjahrir, Hatta, and Amir Sjahrifoeddin. This perception among the cooperating educated elites in the Indies drew them closer to sympathetic Dutch, especially to romantic figures like du Perron. Du Perron was able to provide the recognition that Soewarsih and her circle so eagerly desired: recognition of their common humanity from a Dutch person they respected. Du Perron's appearance in the Indies coincided with the rising threat of Nazism in Europe, and he finally left the Indies to be able to take part in the fight. But the late 1930s was also a formative moment in the development of Indonesian nationalism. Rather than the noncooperating attitude put forward by the popular nationalist leaders in the early part of the decade, a more moderate point of view appears in Armijn's and Soewarsih's work, as illustrated by the fate of Hartono in *Belenggoe* and by the ending of *Buiten het gareel.* The ideological point of view of both of these novels leans toward bourgeois rather than revolutionary nationalism. The Dutch government refused to recognize the possibility of Indonesian independence well into the 1940s. There was no possibility of mutual recognition between the Indonesian nationalists and the Dutch colonials, and

thus the Dutch hardly figure at all in the novels of Armijn and Soewarsih, as in many of the Malay novels that preceded them. These are neither novels of marriages between unequals nor novels of ethnic tensions. The recognition that *is* possible is *within* the community of educated, Dutch-speaking Indonesians. In *Belenggoe* Tini and Tono only care about their recognition as modern subjects among their crowd of friends. Even Jah bends to this logic by leaving Dr. Tono because she feels her reputation as a loose woman would compromise him. But she too speaks Dutch and has been educated in similar schools to Tono's, and it was only fate and her restlessness that led to her promiscuous state. Hartono, the fallen revolutionary, is accepted by his friends, although very reluctantly by Tini, his abandoned lover, when he returns to see them.

Soewarsih, however, presents a different picture of the struggles and fates of the nationalist activists. The idealism of the young teachers with which the novel's narrative begins has disappeared by the end. Faith in Soekarno, as a revolutionary leader and even as a person, has fallen away. The nationalists bicker and fight among themselves. Family tensions overwhelm nationalist activities. Lastri's father and sister do not recognize Dar and Lastri as mature human beings involved in a worthwhile struggle. Another incident in the novel emphasizes misrecognition and takes place between Dar and Lastri when Dar returns from an unsuccessful month in Surabaya trying to find work for them. Lastri is very depressed while he is away because he had left immediately after the birth of their second child, leaving her alone and weak with his sister's family. Dar returns from Surabaya in what Lastri sees as an altered state, talking about becoming a *dukun,* or Javanese mystic. Here Lastri cannot recognize the Dar she knows as a committed activist, fighting for the emerging nation. Dar is the one who scorns Javanese and Sundanese traditions as the antithesis of modernity, yet suddenly she sees him believing in magic.[31] He then leaves for Bandung to look for work for them, and after a month she gives him the ultimatum: find them a house or she will divorce him. And, despite the lack of money, he does this, thus becoming the Dar she recognizes once again.

This is where *Buiten het gareel* returns full circle to where it began with the rejection of the book that Lastri has been writing during this entire period. It also brings the novel to the moment when Lastri begins to write the novel we are reading. It is here that Soewarsih presents the only possibility of lasting recognition as that between Dar and Lastri. Some of

Dar's revolutionary ardor has cooled, and Lastri has reconciled herself to her fate as a woman with bourgeois desires and sentimental affects. She accepts her roles as writer, wife, and mother as activities of equal importance. There are no friends at the end of the novel who support Dar and Lastri. The couple has survived, but their ability to sustain a community has failed. The major strength of Soewarsih's novel is that she does not present these struggles in a didactic or moralizing way. Rob Nieuwenhuys has commented on Soewarsih's ability to capture nuance and detail in her writing: "Suwarsih has the capacity to focus on everything that goes on between people. She has an eye and an ear for relationships and can especially convey the mood of a conversation and the 'electricity' that can permeate it. Her omissions are often the most important part of a statement. A single sentence or a single remark can reveal the slightest tension between people, such as suspicions, suppositions, uncertainties, clues, no more and no less."[32]

Soewarsih's focus on the everydayness of life, on small victories and failures, on economic survival all contribute to an ideological field that appears neutral. But the field is not neutral. Like Lastri and Dar, the reader is sutured into accepting the reality of bourgeois modernity and the impossibility of revolutionary modernity for the Dutch-educated elites, and this conflict foreshadows the ideological struggles of the revolution to come.

Soewarsih's Essays: Criticism and Idealism

During the time that du Perron spent in the Indies in the late 1930s, he was associated with and wrote for the Dutch journal *Kritiek en Opbouw* (Criticism and Construction). As Rudolf Mrázek explains, the journal declared itself an advanced and progressive one, and "it became, perhaps, the single most articulate Dutch dissident voice in the Indies at this time of repression."[33] In addition to advising Soewarsih on her draft of *Buiten het gareel,* du Perron encouraged Soewarsih, Soegondo, Soejitno, and their circle to write for the journal. Soewarsih wrote essays on various topics, both during and after du Perron's stay in the Indies. These essays reflect and occasionally contradict the points of view and ideological positions put forward in her novel of the period. How is her voice as an essayist different from her voice as a novelist? If I am arguing that her novel can serve as a situated testimony of the period that it describes, do these essays fulfill that role in a similar way? Is one voice more truthful or reliable?

Soewarsih wrote essays for Dutch and Dutch-educated readers on women and Islam, on writing and speaking Sundanese, and on the political plight of the nationalist leaders in exile. Although the topic of Islam appears often in her later work, there is only critical mention of Islam, and religion in general, in *Buiten het gareel,* particularly as an opiate of the masses. There is also an old *hadji* in the village (*desa*) whom Trisno takes Dar to meet and with whom Trisno lives for a time during his period of enchantment with the village. Dar describes the old *hadji* as cunning and unkempt, although fatherly in his treatment of Trisno. But one of Soewarsih's later contributions to *Kritiek en Opbouw* is on the plight of Muslim women, both in Indonesia and outside of it.

Soewarsih's first essay for *Kritiek en Opbouw* discusses the birth of the worldwide woman's movement with references to Indonesia's Kartini and to novels about women in English, French, and German.[34] She even makes a reference to Bimala, the heroine of Rabindranath Tagore's famous novel *The Home and the World,* although Tagore's text is not mentioned by name. "Was it any wonder that Tagore's Bimala, peering out of her little house, dared to take her first step outside?"[35] Soewarsih does not mention, however, the ruin of her husband and family that followed Bimala's step outside in Tagore's novel. She prefers to discuss waking up the *desa* women, whom she portrays as necessarily concerned only with finding food for their families, and distinguishes the good village women from the city women, who care mostly about imitating Dutch ways. She says that men show little enthusiasm for the women's movement because of its attack on polygamy. Soewarsih calls for an "active suffrage" (***actief kiesrecht***) rather than the passive one on which the women voted at the 1938 Indonesian Women's Movement Conference. There is a response a few issues later by Maria Ullfah Santoso, a lawyer and activist, who believes Soewarsih misrepresented her "sisters" in the movement when she called city women "hysterical nannies [*baboes*], self-sufficient and contented housewives, and stylish 'flappers,' who are crazy about Garbo and Dietrich."[36] Soewarsih also says modern women only care about eating tasty food, buying clothes, and trying to learn pretentious Dutch habits and manners.

It is in her article of late 1938 that Soewarsih brings to light the problems of Muslim women in general, cloistered behind their thickly curtained walls, their lives filled only with housework and children, and who must always be obedient to their masters.[37] She speaks of the women living either in *lusthoven* (pleasure gardens) or in *stinkende krotjes* (stinking

little hovels). After asking if joy and freedom are only available to the rich and mighty, she draws attention to the verses (*ayat-ayat*) in the Qur'an that give men the right to four wives, but she says that people always forget the two verses that follow. Those verses say if men are not able to treat all their wives equally, they should only have one, and if men do not have it in their power to treat their wives equally, they must at least aspire to that goal. With all the technological innovations of modernity now reaching the Indies, should not the harem doors also yield to the storm of modern ideas? Soewarsih also cites Chalil Zoebran (Khalil Gibran) and his *Arwah al Moetamarrada* (*al-Arwah al-Mutamarrida* [Spirits Rebellious], 1908) for his elegant words about hypocrisy and slavery, which she quotes at length. She then focuses on Indonesia and says that the lives of Indonesia's Muslim women are shackled in centuries-old traditions and bewitched by the Qur'anic proverbs of the orthodox ("gekluisterd in eeuwen oude tradities en betoverd door de Qor'anische spreuken der orthodoxen"). She compares the lives of these women with the Muslim women who attended the third meeting of the Indonesian Women's Movement of July 1938. She reports that the women spoke of marriage laws, voting rights, women's labor, education for young women, and the problem of prostitution. She notes that the cries against injustice and oppression were fierce, but the demands were quiet and moderate. Those demands included equality with men, better marriage laws, more modern interpretations of the Qur'an by the *oelama* (Islamic religious scholars), and more schools for girls. Soewarsih remarks on the final calm and practical speech by the conference leader, sober but without pathos, giving the impression of the purest projection of women's spirit. She says that all the women attending were elegant, well dressed, and well behaved, having the stamp of *beschaving* (culture or refinement) and forming a select gathering of elite Indies women. But Soewarsih is not satisfied with what she thinks of as a show for spectators, and she draws attention to the millions of women who are suffering. She calls for ending the "male" society (***mannen-maatschappij***) to give birth to a human society.

In a particularly eloquent essay of early 1939, Soewarsih discusses the Sundanese language that her mother speaks and how it differs from what she herself speaks.[38] "My mother speaks a different language than I. Yet I do speak her language. The same words in her mouth have another color and vibration in mine. She scolds me. She says I am too methodical, not enough a painter with words." Soewarsih describes her mother's love of

language: "the undulation of meaning," the decorative details, the cadence of words. Speaking of her mother, she says: "As a child, she played in the sunshine with her variegated palette and conjured herself a world of spirits, princesses, and courageous heroes. Meanwhile life passes her by and she sits in her lovely garden and turns to look at the green hedge near her little house."

She explains how her mother is a child of her own century and that makes her and her mother strange to each other: "my heart doesn't understand hers."

> I live in a century of bombs and wheels [*bommen en raderen*], of radio and television, an unnerving century of technology, of pursuit of profit, irony, and biting sarcasm. I see no princesses, no courageous heroes, but toiling people, shackled to the earth. I dream of no idyllic love, but an acknowledgment of justice and freedom. I try to combine my heartache with that of others. I try to be nothing other than my own self [*Ik streef ernaar een niets te zijn en toch een eigen zelf*].

The essay continues with a discussion of the past and the present, and of the struggles of intellectuals and nationalists.

> The invisible spirit of the age [*tijdgeest*], the mighty magical fairy, carries us to a world where she wants to bring us—enchant us—and we are reborn in a new century. Our parents exist in the land of the past before the door to our world, surprised, not understanding the complete change in our being. Not-understanding marks the difference between their world and ours.

Soewarsih speaks of the time a quarter of a century ago when Indies elites were first receiving Dutch education about the West and all its accomplishments. They accepted this without question at first, as they learned to think and question and understand the concept of freedom and its possibilities. Then they wanted to fight for freedom and for the pain their mothers had lived through in the past. They began to believe in their parents again. They tossed away the Dutch parents they had thought they wanted in their days of the family romance. "We are humble before the pain you suffered" (*Onze deemoed voor de door U geleden smart*). They came to believe in their great mission (***zending***) after they realized they were

enslaved. They became inspired with passion." 'Self-help. Noncooperation! Be yourself! Civil disobedience! Political freedom!' Magical words of freedom and unprecedented luck." Then the intellectuals began to reify the past and see it as a glorious one that had produced the Boroboedoer and the fourteenth-century kingdom of Majapait. This was the heyday of the Indonesian cultural nationalists.

> "Give our culture its due! Appreciate the worth of what it is! In the end freedom comes by itself!" This is how the cultural nationalists and the conservatives under them spoke and saw the strange and the new, they feel "*unheimisch*" [out of place] in the ever-changing structures, holding on to the old orders and laws.

Soewarsih recounts this selective history of nationalist development in a critical way. She and her more cynical and radical friends are not among the cultural nationalist group. They have little appreciation for the glories of the Javanese past, its revered texts, its artistic traditions. Du Perron had chided them for this and had told them to read more literature and learn more about their own literary traditions, not just Dutch ones.[39]

One of Soewarsih's later articles in *Kritiek en Opbouw* is the short obituary she wrote for an issue that gathered many contributions from both Indonesian and Dutch mourners of du Perron, who died in May of 1940.[40] Both she and Soegondo contributed short essays as did Soejitno and many of du Perron's Dutch friends and writers, including Beb Vuyk, Rob Nieuwenhuys, Willem Walraven, and Marcel Koch, the editor of *Kritiek en Opbouw,* to name only a few. They all were shocked by du Perron's death. He had left the Indies in September 1939, and all of them believed they would see him again. Soewarsih's comments encapsulate how she, her friends, and her family felt about du Perron.

> Du Perron understood us as no one else did; with him we never felt we were of another race, there was no gap that separated us. He was our brother and lived together with us. He gripped our hearts completely, and we would willingly make any sacrifice for him. Something you love and that suddenly is taken away leaves a lack, an emptiness, behind, and fierce hate for the traitor who violated the most beloved. We can shed tears for him, but that could never wipe away our loss.[41]

I have quoted Soewarsih here and Soegondo at the start of this chapter to indicate the depth of feeling that they, and Soewarni and Soejitno, all had for du Perron. He touched something deep within them, erased for a moment the chains of colonial oppression, and made them feel human. It brings to mind Dermoût's reference to the refined prince of Solo listening to an impromptu lecture by the absent-minded European professor and feeling, for a moment, that he was a student in Leiden.

Soewarsih's most politically daring essay was written in August 1941, just a few months before the Japanese invasion and over a year after the German invasion of Holland, when both she and the editor, Marcel Koch, wrote articles asking the Dutch government to free the nationalist leaders Hatta, Soekarno, Sjahrir, and Soemantri. Soewarsih argued that the nationalists could sympathize with the colonial government in the loss of their freedom under the German occupation because the Indies people well understood the loss of freedom. She also asked how the Indies would defend itself if the Dutch colonials fled to Australia or America, leaving the Indonesians to fight the threat of fascism without even the guidance of their most capable leaders. This article caused the journal to be reprimanded by the government (*persbreidel*), and the journal was not allowed to publish for two weeks.[42] From this daring plea to the colonial government and the citations from her other essays, it is clear that, compared to her fiction, Soewarsih's nonfiction writing was more outspoken in its criticism of the colonial situation, its criticism of the Dutch government, and its criticism of her own leaders and those Indonesians who cooperated with the colonial government. She is critical of a modernity associated with the values of the "West," critical of religion, critical of the hypocrisy that she sees all around her. And yet, her idealism and commitment to a Dutch-style social democracy caused her to argue that the various national groups, both cooperating and noncooperating, should work together with the government against Japanese fascism.[43] Is this an inconsistency in her thinking or a moment of hesitancy in contradiction to her often stated beliefs? Beb Vuyk, a writer of Dutch Indies literature who was a good friend of du Perron, suggests that Soewarsih and Soegondo were radical nationalists but nonviolent ones in the spirit of Gandhi. Having lived in the Indies for many years and on the way back from a trip to the Netherlands, Vuyk went to visit them in 1940, just after du Perron's death. Writing in 1947, Vuyk analyzed the various positions of the Indonesian nationalists

of 1940: those who were actively supporting the Japanese as the way to liberate themselves from Dutch colonialism; those who were sitting on the fence; and the small group of those, like Soewarsih and Soegondo, who were highly principled. "They chose democracy because, even in its colonial form, democracy still offered possibilities, fascism only a dead end."[44] The recognition that Soewarsih and her circle sought from the Dutch was finally received from du Perron just at the moment that Dutch recognition ceased to matter. The Japanese threat and occupation eventually brought Soewarsih and Armijn, representing the different factions of revolutionary and cultural nationalisms, closer together.

Armijn's Essays: Toward a New Indonesian Culture

The strong political opinions reflected in Soewarsih's essays in *Kritiek en Opbouw* are very different from those Armijn Pané expressed in his essays written before the war. At the time of the separation of those cooperating with the Dutch from those who would not cooperate, Armijn sided with the cooperators and, with his fellow Sumatran poets and writers Sutan Takdir Alishjabana and Amir Hamzah, launched the (Riau-style) Malay literary journal *Poedjangga Baroe* (The New Poet) in 1933. This journal, which has been studied over the years by scholars of Indonesian literature, changed in its first ten years of publication. Starting as a journal for new literary expression and critique, it adopted a wider mandate to look at the role of "culture" in general within the struggle to create new literary forms that would accompany the birth of the new nation. This meant a turning away from older Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese oral and written literatures to more "modern" European genres of poetry and fiction.[45] Neither supporters of refitting older literary traditions to suit the times nor political revolutionaries, Armijn and his colleagues nevertheless saw their mission as one of great importance for the nationalist movement. If Soewarsih saw the condition of Indonesian women and the "folk" as needing reform in the nation that she and her compatriots imagined, Armijn saw a struggle for the souls of the intellectuals, those educated in Dutch who now must reject their mentors and colleagues after striving so hard to impress them.

Armijn saw his mission in cofounding the journal *Poedjannga Baroe* as the creation of a literary circle that eventually would expand to include more and more members of the new society. As he expressed it somewhat cautiously in an essay in the journal in 1936:

> It's possible that the circle would not just be a literary one, but a circle of all of our people who long for a renaissance in the world of science or art, all the intellectuals, artists, painters, sculptors, actors, all who are willing to sacrifice for their ideals. Again, let us not wish for a limitless circle . . . the bigger the field we wish to illuminate, the less clear its surroundings, until misfortune could arise.[46]

But Armijn sees the work ahead as something to be pursued slowly and carefully. In his essay "The Desire for Happiness [D *geluk,* I *bahagia*] in Modern Poetry," published in the first issue of the Dutch journal *Bangoen* in 1937, Armijn expresses how he sees the disturbances and disorientations of Western education as a site of anxiety and lack. He discusses the feelings of unhappiness, desire for true love, and vague stirrings of melancholy that inspired the poetry that was published in *Poedjangga Baroe.* He speaks of "culture" and "psyche" and how they are so closely connected that infection by one can lead to infection by the other.

> A psychic disturbance takes place as various elements get out of balance. This disturbance, this disintegration and psychic dislocation, manifests as feelings of unsatisfied desire. In each case, this is one of the symptoms of the complicated condition within which feelings of insecurity—let us say the manifestation of inferiority complexes—are only a part.
>
> This disruption must be the cause that influenced the Indonesian people to look at their own culture in a new way and, coupled with a new objective view of its own identity, often manifests itself in looking down on their own cultural values. In its best form, the disruption of western influence should lead to a harmonious construction of a new culture.[47]

Armijn argues that the Indonesian people were not yet suffering from inferiority complexes, but such symptoms could already be seen in the work of poets through their longing for a new society that could bring new and harmonious cultural elements. The poets whose work had been published in *Poedjangga Baroe* were dissatisfied that the new society had not yet come into being, and they longed for happiness (*geluk*).

Armijn's most sustained assessment of *Poedjangga Baroe* and his and his colleagues' aspirations for the journal were published in Dutch in July and August of 1941 in a series of essays in *De Fakkel* (The Torch), a liberal

Dutch Indies journal launched in Batavia in November of 1940, after Holland had been invaded by the Germans.[48] The Indies was cut off from Holland after the invasion, and there was a sense of quiet desperation in the colony among the antifascist colonials. This brought Dutch and Indonesian literati together in the year before the Japanese invaded the Indies, and the nationalist leaders Soekarno, Sjahrir, and Hatta were brought back from exile: Hatta and Sjahrir by the Dutch just before the Japanese invasion, and Soekarno by the Japanese. Armijn's discussion, in his essays of 1941, of the new Indonesian culture that he and *Poedjangga Baroe* had helped to nurture, reveals the different strands of intellectual life and ideological orientation in the Indies that would blend, after the war, into a more generalized circle of intellectuals who supported Sutan Sjahrir and who, along with Sjahrir, faded more and more into the political background during the years of Soekarno's Guided Democracy, from 1959 to 1965.

Armijn tried to defend *Poedjangga Baroe* from du Perron's criticism that the journal had rejected the past: things like the Boroboedoer temple, the *Ardjoena Wiwaha* poem, or the Pandji tales. Armijn argued that *Poedjangga Baroe* had not rejected the past because they did not know the past or did not value it. They greatly valued the older culture but felt that every culture was tied to its own time and milieu. The spirit that shaped the Boroboedoer, the Panataran temple, the beautiful statues of the Prajnaparamita, the *Ardjoena Wiwaha,* and the Pandji tales had its own time. The spirit of imitation was all that remained, and fossilization had been the result. Armijn said that what was needed now was a new spirit that already existed. Then Armijn turned his critique to the contemporary group that most valued the past, the Taman Siswa movement of Ki Hadjar Dewantara, founder of the most enduring branch of the wild-schools movement, the schools where Soewarsih and her husband, and Soewarsih's characters, taught in the 1930s. Ki Hadjar urged people to turn away from the Western toward the national, and he explained that, because they had gone in the wrong direction, to reorient themselves toward the national, Indonesians must go back decades in search of a starting point. Armijn disagreed with Ki Hadjar, and he cited how Soejitno had countered this argument in an earlier essay in *De Fakkel* by calling it the modernized ***nerimo-levenshouding***, a combination of the Javanese word *nerimo* (*nrimo*), acceptance, with the Dutch *levenshouding,* outlook on life. The Javanese concept of *nrimo* is an attitude toward life or way of being at the heart of Javanese mysticism and culture. It suggests a willow that bends

in the wind, a state of relaxation and nonconfrontation that, if cultivated, will allow one to move in the world without becoming upset or upsetting others. Armijn suggested that this philosophy saw the whole of existence as ordered and regulated without a single exception, beyond human desire and detached from human will ("buiten het menschelijk verlangen en los van den menschelijke wil"). Therefore, by following Taman Siswa ideas, the result would be that "grumbling discontent" (D *mokkende ontevredenheid*) would stay far from the Indonesian subject.[49]

Poedjangga Baroe, Armijn maintained, was in opposition to this (Javanese) outlook on life. The journal and those who contributed to it saw a way to absorb influences from the West and from other parts of the world in order to create a new Indonesian culture, a unified or integrated culture, which would let in new light, new ideas, and new knowledge. Armijn argued that cultural mixing and the absorption of cultural influences were currently and had always been taking place in the archipelago, and he mentioned the early influences from Hinduism and Islam. In response to the accusation that *Poedjangga Baroe* was *gila barat* (intoxicated by the West), Armijn defended this cultural hybridity, which to him had no shame (*schande*) in it.[50] To illustrate that the West was not the sole source of the new culture being imagined, Armijn cited Amir Hamzah's poetry, which drew on Persian Islamic influences, and the poetry of his brother Sanusi Pané. Sanusi's *Pantjaran Tjinta* (D *Liefs uitingen,* E *Expressions of Love*) was inspired by the famous fifteenth-century Indian poet Kabir, a Hindu mystic who also espoused and incorporated Islamic ideas. Sanusi was also inspired by Jalaloeddin Rumi [*sic*], the thirteenth-century Sufi poet and mystic. Thus, Armijn contends, it was a mixture of Western, Eastern, and indigenous elements that went together in the formation of the new Indonesian culture. In this spirit, recent issues of the journal covered a wide variety of subjects: "Jewish persecutions in Germany in 1938, national education in this country, Javanese dance and wajang, Japanese Bushido, freedom of expression, the Bhagavad Gita, Molière, the Javanese poet Ronggowarsito, radio and press, language education, Gorki, international law, l'art pour l'art, all these form a variety of problems that, enlightened by *Poedjangga Baroe*'s ideas, are treated in new prose."[51]

In August of 1941, both Armijn and Soewarsih published what might be seen as the high point of their various ideological and aesthetic endeavors. As explained above, Soewarsih put herself in danger by criticizing the colonial government for its lack of insight into the serious threats facing

the Indies at that time. She wanted the government to release the imprisoned nationalists to rally the people against Japanese fascism. Armijn, for his part, was making a summary statement about his own artistic work, his attempt to create a fitting literary culture for the new nation being formed. It was Armijn's novel *Belenggoe* that was his most radical contribution to the literary debates of the time. In his novel, Armijn was daring, activist, and cutting-edge. In her contribution to a set of special issues of *Poedjangga Baroe* devoted to reactions to *Belenggoe,* Soewarsih contributed her opinion of Armijn's novel. Her critique, which is very negative, showed how far apart their intellectual worlds were in the early 1940s. Soewarsih found no artistry or beauty in the language of Armijn's text, so she said she would keep her comments brief. She found *Belenggoe* to be a *tendensroman,* or didactic novel, which went against her feeling that the art of the novel should be more than just a platform for preaching.[52] She believed that Armijn had used his novel to propagandize the cause of *krontjong* music. As a Sundanese woman married to a Javanese man, she did not see how an elite, scientifically educated Javanese man could prefer *krontjong* over gamelan, the title, in fact, of another of Armijn's essays.[53] At that time in the Indies, *krontjong* was the favored music of the Eurasian element, the Indos, in Javanese and Sundanese colonial society. The Eurasians were made up of Indies women—Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Chinese—who had married Dutch men over the several hundred years of Dutch presence in the Indies, and their descendents continued such marriage patterns, most commonly Dutch or Eurasian men with Dutch status marrying mixed-blood Indies women. The Eurasians formed a growing cultural group in the Indies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and even up until the Second World War, but they were increasingly looked down upon in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century by the Dutch-educated elites, on the Javanese and Sundanese side, and on the immigrant *totok* (pure) Dutch side as well.[54] The old mestizo culture was losing its charm and status, to be remembered only in Dutch novels, like those of Dermoût, in the longing for *tempo doeloe* (time past) and the society that was swept away by the Japanese invasion. *Krontjong* was a hybrid music in a *totok* time. That, of course, is what Armijn loved about *krontjong:* it was not identified with a specific cultural group like the Javanese, Sundanese, or Balinese; it was in flux and open to absorbing new influences, like the Indonesian culture he was trying to create. Soewarsih showed her class and ethnic consciousness in her

rejection of Armijn's elite Javanese hero's liking of the music of hybridity. It was fitting for Tono to play the violin but not for him to like *krontjong.*

Soewarsih continued her critique of Armijn's book by summarizing what she thought of his characters: "Rohajah, an unruly woman who must be lifted up from the dregs of society, Tini the butterfly, a modern woman from the upper class, Hartono, the tempter, Aminah, the jealous young woman, Soekartono [Tono], lover of art and sentimental doctor, none of them move me."[55]

Soewarsih found them all to be wooden dolls who, bending under the desires of their creator, sometimes were good and sometimes bad with no clear psychological motives for those changes. Tono's winding up in Rohajah's arms after only three days did not make sense. Neither did the unruly or wild (*djalang*) Rohajah's transformation into an intelligent and cultured woman. Soewarsih needed explanations: why would the well-bred and well-educated Dr. Tono be overcome by sexual desire (*hawa nafsoe*) unless he had been the long suffering victim of Tini's neglect? As a feminist strongly against polygamy, Soewarsih found Tono's mistress very threatening. She also found Tono stupid (*bodoh*), a hedonist (*soeka berkesenangan sendiri*), and boring (*membosankan*) to the point that she would have supported Tini if Tini had wanted to have an affair (*berboeat sérong*). But Soewarsih did see the second triangle that I discussed above: "Tini's relationship with Soekartono [Tono], Tini's relationship with Hartono, Tini's youth that must have been a relentless inner torment for Soekartono and Tini is only explained in passing; if explained in a proper manner it could actually have become the reason for the unraveling of the marital relationship that finally ended in separation."[56]

But what did Soewarsih mean by "if explained in a proper manner" (*tjara jang sopan*)? She was frustrated by Armijn's stream-of-consciousness style. Like many others in the early 1940s, she could not appreciate what he was trying to do. She also could not grasp the phantasmic nature of Rohajah, who sails off, as if to nowhere, at the end of the novel. Finally, she complained that everything was organized around Tono: "Soekartono the doctor, Soekartono the husband, the unfaithful one, the virtuous one, etc." She found him to be like an actor, and thus nothing was really in order (*tidak beres*). It seemed as if everything Soewarsih had learned from du Perron about writing a good novel had slipped away in Armijn's *Belenggoe.* Soewarsih, the revolutionary, could not appreciate Armijn's revolutionary novel.

Armijn and Soewarsih as Novelists and Essayists

Armijn the revolutionary novelist and the moderate essayist, Soewarsih the moderate novelist and the revolutionary essayist: both shed contradictory light on the question of novels and essays as situated testimonies. The imbrications of culture and politics have never perhaps been so clear. Armijn was the political cooperator but the daring creator of fiction. Soewarsih was the daring political noncooperator but the literary critic who sought the *tjara jang sopan,* the proper literary style in a work of fiction. Soewarsih was the fighter for the nation, brave enough to demand that the colonial government return the exiled leaders, but admitted her own bourgeois sympathies in her novel. Armijn's novel's literary form belies its more conservative content. And yet Armijn's most daring move, perhaps, in his novel is his attempt to create a cast of Javanese characters rather than Sumatran ones. Soewarsih stays with what she knows best, the mix of Dutch-educated Sundanese and Javanese that mirrored her own experiences. Armijn, however, places himself in the world of the old Javanese elite, even creating a character in the person of Tini's uncle who spouts Javanese mystical wisdom. Although he does not always get it quite right, it was a bold move in his creative world. And, in his essays, he realizes that to create a unified culture, the various ethnic groups of the Indies would have to give up their attachments to their dominant traditions; thus hybrid *krontjong* over the high art of gamelan. The next chapter returns to this theme of syncretism versus cultural or religious purity. In fact, neither type of writing needs to stand alone as an adequate testimony; a fuller picture is constructed through fitting the many pieces together. Likewise, the methodologies of history and literary criticism, applied to both essays and fiction, shed more light on the quotidian behaviors and affects of the time than either one alone.

The novels and essays of Soewarsih and Armijn record both a conflict and a lack: they both articulate a desire for happiness and a desire for the nation form, and their works indicate that they feel that neither happiness nor the nation form is fully available for the Dutch-educated elites of the Indies. In Armijn's *Belenggoe,* Jah represents this contradiction. She is a phantasm, a vision of a modernity that has been glimpsed but cannot yet be grasped or brought into focus. The portrayal of Jah thus gives rise to incomplete phantasies—and perhaps accompanying immorality—of what modernity might be.[57] Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel* offers

only the phantasy of Habermas' ideal-speech community to the reader, and that phantasy is deconstructed by the end of the novel. The realist style of her work offers a rather bleak hope for the cooperation needed to bring the nation into being. The optimistic possibility that is left at the end of the novel is a hope for the family rather than the nation and for personal fulfillment through creative work. Armijn, the writer of so many essays on the possibilities of poetry and new literary forms, has his heroes and heroines seeking happiness through science and social work, as both Tono and Tini seem to have lost their connections to the violin and piano music they had played together in the past. Neither the family nor the family romance existed in Armijn's views of modernity. Although Armijn was a cooperating nationalist and Soewarsih a noncooperating one, both show their sympathies in their essays for the social democratic possibilities offered by the Dutch parliamentary state, in the last days before the Japanese occupation, and both were followers of Sjahrir and his socialist party in the new nation of Indonesia that finally emerged after eight years of war, occupation, and revolution.[58]

In the ideological field, the more conservative position of Sjahrir's Dutch form of parliamentary democracy was the one that ultimately appealed to Soewarsih, a Sundanese; her Javanese husband, Soegondo; and Armijn, a north Sumatran. The more radical attempt of Soekarno to quilt the ideological field of the new nation by linking Islam, Marxism, and nationalism, a linking that would last from 1926 when it was first proclaimed until Soekarno was outmaneuvered and stripped of power by General Suharto in 1966, did not appeal to Soewarsih and her circle beyond the early 1930s. But it was Soekarno's vision that prevailed both before and after the revolution (1945–1949) that brought the new nation into existence. The story of Soekarno's vision, his charismatic personality, and his rise and fall is not one I can tell here. But Soekarno was a man of words, some might say too many words, and I turn now to look briefly at one of Soekarno's earliest essays and two of his postcolonial speeches, including one that he gave on Indonesian Independence Day, August 17, 1964. This was his famous **"Year of Living Dangerously"** (Tahun "Vivere Pericoloso") speech that emerged into popular culture in Australia and the United States in the 1970s through its representation in a novel and a film by the same name.[59] This speech marked not only the end of the nationalist movement in which Soewarsih and her husband believed and which they supported, but also the end of the romance of the revolution.

Soekarno and the Romance of the Revolution

When he was in his mid-twenties, Soekarno wrote the essay that was to become the key to his political vision for the next forty years. The essay "Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism" (Nationalisme, Islamisme dan Marxisme) presented Soekarno's design for the future Indonesian nation.[60] Written and published in Malay before the Proclamation of the Youth Oath of 1928, Soekarno's essay established Malay as the language of nationalism in the Indies and is a heady study of the three major political forces he saw in Indies Native society. Most of it draws on French, English, German, and Dutch sources for its extensive citations and references. He first tries to show the appeal of Marxism for Muslims.

> A broad-minded Moslem [*Islamis*], a Moslem who understands the requirements of our struggle, will certainly agree to an alliance with the Marxists, since he is aware that usury and the collection of interest are forbidden to his religion. He is aware that this is the Moslem way of attacking the very foundations of capitalism, for, as we have previously explained, usury is the same as surplus value [D *meerwaarde* in original], the inner essence of capitalism. He is aware that, like Marxism, Islam, with its "belief in God," with its recognition of the "Kingdom of God," is a protest against the evils of capitalism.[61]

As for the Marxists, they had to compromise also.

> Therefore, if Marxists will remind themselves of the differences between the churches in Europe and Islam in Indonesia, they will surely stretch out their hands and say: "Brother, let us be one." If they value the examples of their comrades who are cooperating with Moslems in other countries, they will surely follow their examples. And if they also cooperate with the Nationalists, they can declare in all serenity: "We have done our duty."[62]

As Ruth McVey noted in her introduction to the English translation of "Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism," in the Marxism that Soekarno envisioned for the new nation of Indonesia, the class struggle had fallen away.[63]

Thirty-four years later, Soekarno again proclaimed the unity of nationalism, religion, and communism in his political slogan "*Nasakom*"

(*Nasionalisme, Agama, Kommunisme*). Soekarno was nearing the end of his political career at that time. His health was poor. He had been forced to ally himself with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in order to avoid being toppled by the increasingly strong Indonesian Army. He was desperately clinging to power. Soekarno arrested his former prime minister, Sjahrir, in 1962 and put him in jail. Censorship of books was instituted by presidential decree in 1963, and the supporters of the Cultural Manifesto (Manikebu) were harassed by left-leaning LEKRA (Institute of People's Culture, I Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat) followers for opposing the socialist realist literary style advocated by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, among others. Soekarno started his "Crush Malaysia" campaign in 1963, and this campaign brought Indonesia into confrontation with the British as well as with the newly formed nation of Malaysia. The romance of the revolution (*romantiknya revolusi*) became an important theme in Soekarno's "Year of Living Dangerously" speech of 1964.

> A Revolution cannot really be passionate if the people do not set the Revolution in motion in a Romantic way. A Revolution cannot maintain its spirit if the people cannot accept the attacks of the enemy as the romance of the Revolution, if they cannot repulse the attacks of the enemy, pummel them, and crush them to bits as the romance of the Revolution. A Revolution cannot keep its head if the people are not ready to make the necessary sacrifices, with heads erect and even with a smile on their faces because they consider those sacrifices part of the romance of the Revolution. Danton went to the Guillotine with romance in his heart, Rizal went to his execution with romance in his heart, the Russian fighters demolished their enemies at Stalingrad with romantic fervor, millions of Chinese crossed the Yangtze like ants, but with romance in their hearts.[64]

Soekarno was attempting to remind the masses of Central and East Java, still his most loyal followers, of the heady days of the revolution of 1945 to 1949, even though they would not have responded to his examples from a history they were never taught. No longer the controlled, well-dressed hero that he had once been, all he had were romantic and volatile words.

Parts of Soekarno's speeches were incomprehensible to foreigners as well as to Indonesians, and this mystical incomprehensibility was important

in giving his words power. Soekarno's speech of August 17, 1964, set in motion a series of anti-American demonstrations throughout Jakarta as it tried to shore up Soekarno's fading power.[65] In his novel *The Year of Living Dangerously,* C. J. Koch had his Chinese-Australian antihero, Billy Kwan, describe how a poet gives a soul to his country: "Well, Soekarno's done the same thing in his speeches. He's created this country."[66] A passage from Soekarno's famous speech of 1957, "Marhaen and the Proletarian," shows how he was able to do this.

> Is Indonesia only what is drawn on the map, Brothers and Sisters? Is that Indonesia? No! Indonesia is not only that. Indonesia for us, Brothers and Sisters, is the whole natural world which enchants us. We listen to Indonesia when at Tjilauteureum we hear the waves of the Indian Ocean pounding on the beach. We listen to Indonesia when we hear the wind sighing in the jungles of Mt. Burangrang. We feel that we drink Indonesia when we drink the waters of the village well. . . . Indonesia, as I said is . . . its beautiful mountains of glorious shimmering blue, those are Indonesia; the white bulging clouds are Indonesia; the dome of the blue sky above our earth is Indonesia; the radiance of the eyes of little children by the roadside is Indonesia; the songs chanted at Tjilauteureum, Brothers and Sisters, these are Indonesia; the savoury foods we eat are Indonesia. All of this is Indonesia for us. Indonesia for us is the totality of all the feelings that live deep in our hearts and which make us ready to struggle, ready to work our fingers to the bone, ready to make sacrifices, ready to go to the gallows, ready to be exiled to the jungle for tens of years, this is Indonesia, Brothers and Sisters.[67]

Over the forty years of his political career, Soekarno became the mouthpiece of Indonesian nationalism. He had acquired many titles by the 1960s: Presiden [*sic*] Republik Indonesia, Panglima Tertinggi Angkatan Bersendjata (Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces), Perdana Menteri Pemerintah (Government Prime Minister), Penjambung Lidah Rakjat Indonesia (Mouthpiece of the Indonesian People), Pemimpin Besar Revolusi (Great Leader of the Revolution), and many more.[68] Soekarno was seen by the people as a Javanese ruler, fitting into earlier patterns of Javanese political authority. As Koch describes him many times in his popular novel, Soekarno in his white helicopter is like the Indic god Vishnu in his magic car swooping down from the heavens. In public, Soekarno

always looked impeccable. He lived in several palaces. He had countless mistresses and usually his four legal wives. He spoke many languages and hobnobbed with other ***dewa-dewi*** (gods). He had been leader of the 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. He told America to go to hell. He was prince and one of the people (*rakyat*) at the same time. In his "Year of Living Dangerously" speech, Soekarno used all his talents as a speaker and a writer to stir up the masses, to move them, and to remind them of the revolution that he represented.

> The Indonesian people must be politically aware and aware of the revolution. Aware! Yes aware! The Indonesian people must be *politiek bewust* [aware] and *Revolutie bewust.* All the People! All the People! All of them! Si Dadap and si Waru! All of them must be *politiek bewust,* all of them must be *Revolutie bewust.* To follow the words of Lenin, even every cook must understand politics and understand revolution—must live in politics and live in the Revolution.
>
> *Sjukur Alhamdulillah!* The Indonesian people are indeed like that! *Bewust! Bewust!* Aware! They are not indifferent. They are not just grass. They are always "*gito-gito, lir gabah den interi*" [Javanese for "in a hurry and in a state of chaos"]. Their hearts are always impassioned. Their thoughts are always stirred up. Their spirits are raging. Raging as if blown about by angels. Raging with ideals. Raging with *idée.* Raging with the aim of the struggle. Raging with independence. Raging with the idea of a just and prosperous society. Raging with the eradication of the "*exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.*" Raging with the disappearance of the "*exploitation de nation par nation.*" Raging with an abiding hatred for *kolonialisme* and *imperialisme.* Raging with a life of struggle. Raging, yes raging because in this way they are always in action.[69]

Who were the audiences that Soekarno addressed in this passage from August of 1964? He touched the *santri* (strict Muslims) with a bit of Arabic, the Javanese with his Javanese phrase, the Dutch educated with Dutch words and phrases, and the European and European-educated with his French phrases. English was scattered through the speech as well. Thus he was speaking to many audiences, trying to impress them in different ways, and mystifying all of them some of the time. Only his closest Javanese advisors might have understood all that he was saying. He built up his own authority by appealing to other authorities, by appealing to

mysticism, by speaking in many tongues. His words were meant to whip his audience into an emotional frenzy to show his continuing power over the masses. His words had become his only power.

> So it can be heard by the ears of those others, I drone on again now with what I have said so many times: Go to hell with your "Indonesia going to economic collapse"! Go to hell with your stupid talk that Indonesia will collapse economically. *Go to hell!* Your psy-war isn't working. We consider your psy-war like the barking of a dog.[70]

Here Soekarno was speaking to American journalists, diplomats, and CIA agents. Soekarno's voice was oppositional to the "West." He preferred disorder over order. He refused to play Western diplomatic games to gain Western money.[71] He wanted to keep his hold on power, at any expense. He was the great ***dhalang*** (puppeteer) of the nation, balancing the left (PKI or communists) against the right (the army). Like a *dhalang* or puppeteer, he could speak in many voices; he could put puppets like Sjahrir back in the box, back in jail; he could stir the people with his voice and his stories; he could move them emotionally. He created and re-created Indonesia with his words.

One of the most personal portraits of Soekarno appears in two works by journalist Cindy Adams written in the 1960s. Adams' major book about Soekarno was billed by her publishers an autobiography rather than a biography to make the text more "authentic" than if it were a biography by an unknown woman. Although she later became quite well known for her long-running gossip column in the *New York Post* and her marriage to the humorist Joey Adams, when she went to Indonesia to interview Soekarno in 1964, Adams was not yet famous.[72] Two years later, Adams published *My Friend the Dictator* as a parallel volume to her biography of Soekarno. In it she tells the "true" story of creating the constructed story she recounted in the first work. This second work by Adams gives a better sense of Soekarno's habitual life. In *Dictator,* Soekarno did not look impeccable, he relieved himself on bushes in his garden, he became angry, sad, and he often felt lonely. Adam's work has been cited in many studies by scholars, and her work has drawn its weight from her physical closeness to Soekarno. Soekarno would probably not have allowed a man the intimacy and access that Adams was able to achieve.[73] Adams' work is unique because she captured the way Soekarno saw the world, and she juxtaposed

that view with the way an ordinary American might have seen the world at that time. In a wonderful passage from *Dictator,* Adams describes a heated exchange between herself and Soekarno about his position on the ongoing conflict with Britain and Malaysia.

> Angrily he [Soekarno] twisted around in his chair so that he was nose to nose with me. "Why do you not consider Soekarno's side, the Indonesian side, the side that puts him in danger because he has made this promise? This rally tonight is an all-youth rally. Young intellectuals have come throughout Indonesia to hear their President be strong, not weak. They wish to hear him say again, '*Ganyang Malaysia*' [Crush Malaysia]. If he does not say it because of a promise to a few Americans, they will scream against him. Why don't you look at this side? Why must you try to again exact this promise from me? Why must you place our personal relationship on a political basis?"
>
> "Because we are Americans," I said quietly. "We know there is only one side. And that is the side of the West."[74]

There is no mistaking Adams' political allegiances: there is no ideology beyond American capitalism and "democracy." Adams was unaware that her beliefs and her ideological positioning coincided so seamlessly. Soekarno, at this point in his career, had perhaps gone beyond any earlier commitments he had to ideological positions as he struggled to retain control of the Indonesian state in this last year of his power. All he had were words to keep his nation's loyalty.

Situated Testimonies and the End of the Nationalist Romance

I began this discussion of the novels and essays of Soewarsih Djojopoespito with reference to Lynn Hunt's work that connected Freud's family romance, revolutionary politics, and imaginative arts to bring literature and history to life. I also introduced the idea of Soekarno as the anchoring point in Soewarsih's Dutch novel, the figure able to stop meaning from sliding away and revealing the ideological contradictions the figure is supposed to hide. But Soekarno had stopped being able to quilt over ideological gaps even before the end of *Buiten het gareel.* Soewarsih and her circle gave up on Soekarno as the voice of Indonesian nationalism in the early 1930s, and they felt politically and ideologically in tune with Sutan Sjahrir, who lived

just long enough to hear about the horrific mass killings that took place in Indonesia in 1965–1966 as Soekarno fell from power. Although Soewarsih and her circle gave up on Soekarno early on, Soekarno remained the most popular political figure, the "tongue," or voice, of Indonesian nationalism, for almost forty years. His words and his ability to animate those words in front of admiring crowds in the 1920s, in the early 1940s when the Japanese arrived and released him from his Dutch prison, and during his twenty years as the postcolonial nation's president marked both the beginning and the end of the romance of the revolution for many Indonesians. How does Soekarno figure into the family romance, or family narrative, of the Indonesian nation? How does he figure in the move from Tirto's earliest articulations of Hindia Belanda to Pramoedya's traumatic retelling of Tirto's life to expose the loss of the Indonesian nationalist dream during Soeharto's New Order?

The revolutionary romance in Indonesia was a family narrative up to a point. Soekarno's genius lay in his ability to condense the emerging nation in his own person: first as the voice speaking for the nationalist movement against the Dutch colonial government and then as the link between the people and the nation.[75] Du Perron and many other Dutch colonials labeled Soekarno a *volksmenner,* or demagogue, as far back as the 1920s as they watched his ability to transfix the *volk,* or *rakyat,* with his words.[76] But it was exactly this ability that made Soekarno useful to the Japanese during the war and helped to make Soekarno's voice known throughout Indonesia as he gave the speeches, both with loudspeakers and on the radio, that the Japanese demanded of him to recruit workers and build support for the Japanese war effort. During the Revolution, Soekarno, Hatta, and Sjahrir were the Republican government's figureheads, but Soekarno was the best known by the Indonesian *rakyat.* In his speeches Soekarno called the people "brothers and sisters," representing himself as a family member rather than a father. Soekarno's political career was an opportunistic one: letters from the 1930s revealed that Soekarno wrote to the colonial government to cut a deal so he would not have to go back to jail. His collaboration with the Japanese has always been controversial, and his uneven relationships with the Indonesian Communist Party, the Chinese Communist State, and the Indonesian Army were calculated power plays. His famous—or infamous—image as a playboy and womanizer also contributed to Soekarno's being seen as more of an older brother than a Father of the Nation.

As Soekarno took greater advantage of Javanese and Islamic traditions of polygamy in the 1950s, he receded further from the standards of Indonesian feminists like Soewarsih. But Soewarsih's novella *Siluman Karangkobar* (The Spirit of Karangkobar), written in the 1950s, still advances ideas that resonate with Soekarno's celebration of the *marhaen,* or Javanese proletarian figure of the poor farmer with a tiny bit of land, that he conjured up in his speech "Marhaen and the Proletarian" of 1957.[77] Soewarsih's novella is a magical realist work that tells of animal spirits and other ghosts who gather every year to reward those of them who have best been able to help the poor people, the *marhaen,* who were supposed to benefit from Soekarno's new postcolonial state. Soewarsih's subtle political commentary appears in the way the female narrator of the story slips out of the political meeting where the men are talking about democracy and politics to return to her room, where she dreams of the true political work of the nation, which should be to help the folk or "little people." Her story indicates she does not feel the political voices that hover loudly in the background are attending to this mission. This narrative might be seen as an apt parable of Soekarno's years as head of state. He went from being seen as a respected nationalist hero to a dictator of sorts by the mid-1960s. During

FIGURE 7 Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, during a seventeen-day visit to Japan in November 1943 with Mohammad Hatta and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo. Courtesy of KITLV Archive, Leiden.

this time, the postcolonial state of Indonesia became entwined in the Cold War politics of the 1950s and 1960s as the CIA funded Indonesian separatists to try and overthrow Soekarno in the late 1950s, and numerous assassination attempts were made on Soekarno's life. He was being undermined from within his own government and outside of it.[78]

But, despite all of these trials, accusations, and mysteries, Soekarno remained a beloved figure among a majority of Indonesians, both among his loyal *rakyat* followers and among many of the educated elite of various political persuasions. Soekarno's own fractious alliances with various states and figures both within and outside of Indonesia reflect one of the major problems of the Indonesian nationalist dream that was, perhaps, born with Tirto Adhi Soerjo and that died when Soekarno fell from power. The nationalists were fractured at the beginning of their mission and remained so until Soekarno's fall. This fracturing and inability to work together was depicted in Soewarsih's novel of the late 1930s, where Soewarsih and her circle may have been among the earliest to become disillusioned with Soekarno, his words, his opportunism, and his inability to unite Indonesia's nascent political elite. Soewarsih's characters Lastri and Dar remained in awe of Soekarno and continued to be a bit fascinated with him even after their political allegiance had faded. Soewarsih's most courageous political essay called for the release of Soekarno and the other nationalist leaders from jail on the eve of the Japanese invasion. Soekarno's rise and fall do not fit into Freud's "family romance" of the child who seeks more influential parents. Soekarno sensed that rejecting Javanese culture, or his Javanese and Balinese parental figures, would not win the support of the masses. Nor did he have a moment of realization, as drawn so convincingly by Soewarsih, where he returned to his own roots, because he had never left those roots.

Soekarno remains a man who struggled with phantoms, many of his own making and many conjured by others. As much as he created Indonesia with his words, Indonesia also created Soekarno. Like Armijn Pané's heroine Jah, Soekarno was a promiscuous phantasm of Indonesian nationalism, an unreachable, unattainable phantasm.

CHAPTER 5

Trauma and Its Doubles in Postcolonial Masculinity

> For we, even as audience, do not yet feel free from the savage events before and after 1 October 1965. For we are not visitors [to Indonesia]. We are not foreigners. We bear this burden of history—a burden that others do not have; the burden not only of trauma, but also of hope. (Goenawan Mohamad, "The Violent")

> What are the threads that are unwoven which this work of "untying" bears upon? Freud spoke of "memories" and "expectations" attaching us to the other. What he doesn't take account of, but which is rarely absent—precisely in the fabric, the *context* of those memories and expectations—is the place for the *message* of the other. For the person in mourning, that message has never been adequately understood, never listened to enough. Mourning is hardly ever without the question: what would he be saying now? What would he have said? Hardly ever without regret or remorse for not having been able to speak with the other enough, for not having heard what he had to say. (Jean Laplanche, *Essays on Otherness*)

In 1963 H. B. Jassin, Goenawan Mohamad, Arief Budiman, and other artists and writers signed the "Cultural Manifesto" (I Manifes Kebudajaan, **Manikebu**), proclaiming their right to artistic freedom. At the time the politics of LEKRA, the left-leaning arts organization supported by President Soekarno and Pramoedya Ananta Toer, were at their most strident, calling for artists and writers to adhere to the aesthetics and priorities

of socialist realism.[1] The ideas that Soewarsih Djojopoespito and Armijn Pané advocated in their essays of the late 1930s and early 1940s on universal humanism, individualism, and the *rakyat,* or people, were at the heart of these heated debates over artistic and intellectual freedom in the postcolonial state of Indonesia. Poet, activist, and journalist Goenawan Mohamad, supporter of the "Cultural Manifesto," remembers that he became something of an outcast during those years, and he eventually left the country to study in Belgium. It was while Goenawan was in Belgium that the Soekarno government fell and the killings began. Silence surrounded the killings of 1965–1966, which took the lives of over a half a million people, most of whom died in Java and Bali.[2] Because of the brutality of Indonesia's New Order regime, its censorship practices, and the whitewashing of its complicity in the deaths of up to a million of its people over its thirty-two years of rule, most stories and memories of the 1965–1966 violence were repressed until the fall of the New Order in May of 1998. The New Order government of Major General and then President Suharto, who forced Soekarno to surrender all power to him in March of 1966, silenced all stories of the killings except its own. New stories of the 1965–1966 violence began to appear in Indonesia after the relaxing of press censorship that began at the end of the New Order, and that moment of openness was one of the benefits of the brief post–New Order Reformasi (Reform) period.[3]

Robert Cribb has described how the killings of 1965–1966 took place in small groups so that a person would only have had knowledge of a small number of deaths: "The nature of the killing in 1965–66—commonly dispersed, nocturnal and by small groups—was such that no one could possibly have had first or even second hand involvement in more than a small portion of the total number of deaths."[4] Each person who took part in the killings would have known his fellow killers and their victims—often very well—but would not have known how many others knew of their killings or how many others took part in other killings. This is reminiscent of Couperus' novel *Old People and Things That Pass Them By,* discussed in Chapter 2, in which the old people were waiting to die and to take their memories of violence with them. In waiting for the "Thing," the evil, to pass, the three perpetrators of the crime would be dead, but only after sixty long years. And, before they died, they continued to believe they had succeeded in hiding their crimes of passion and murder from their families and society. They did not know that the child Harold had witnessed the

murder. They did not know of the love letters that remained as evidence. And so, a child and a grandchild know, and one or two others know, and each one tells someone else. . . . Yet each thinks that others do not know.

When Goenawan Mohamad returned to Indonesia in 1967, he heard firsthand stories of the killings from friends and acquaintances. Many people he knew were in jail or dead. Up to 12,000 other prisoners, including Pramoedya Ananta Toer, would be sent in 1969 to the prison island of Buru in eastern Indonesia, where Goenawan and other journalists were allowed to visit in the early 1970s. Although Goenawan knew that there were people there from his village, he recounted how he could not bear to meet with them. When Goenawan was in his teens and early twenties, leftist politics were strong in Indonesia, and it seemed to many young intellectuals that socialism or communism was the ideology of Indonesia's future. Now communism had become a nostalgic term that belonged to the past. In his reflections on the fate of those who fought and died for communism, Goenawan felt a profound sadness. Not only had many fought and died, but they had died for something that came to mean less than nothing.[5] After directing the purges of those labeled as communists, the New Order regime became virulently anticommunist; any connection with communism or those who had professed it was a serious liability that could lead to death or imprisonment throughout the thirty-two years that the regime was in power.

Because of these repressed histories, scholars of and from Indonesia have begun to look at questions of archives, witnessing, and trauma, and literary works that have appeared in Indonesia since the fall of the New Order have addressed these challenges in unique and powerful ways.[6] This chapter looks at Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet,* especially the fourth book, *House of Glass,* and the following chapter looks at the novels of writer, journalist, and activist Ayu Utami, as studies of archives, testimonies, masculinist traumas, and feminist melancholia. I explore *House of Glass* as a meditation on the creative tensions Pramoedya always found in the relationship between historical and fictional narratives. As suggested in Chapter 2, Tirto Adhi Soerjo's phantoms evoke Pramoedya's own phantoms and phantasms of being forgotten as he tells the story of his fictional version of Tirto. Pramoedya creates the character Minke and narrates Minke's erasure from history, how Minke's possessions are taken over by the Native colonial collaborator and police agent Pangemanann, and, most important, how Minke's manuscripts are rewritten by Pangemanann. Pangemanann

is Minke's uncanny double. Throughout the novel Pangemanann becomes increasingly haunted and paranoid. His phantasies and hallucinations of the Indies bandit hero Pitung, the first Native fighter, whom Pangemanann destroys through nefarious means, slowly transform over the course of the novel into phantasies of Minke, whom Pangemanann will also destroy. The only activity that keeps Pangemanann alive as the novel draws to a close is his desire to finish rewriting Minke's manuscripts. In the end it is left to the reader to decide who may have been the implied author of the *Buru Quartet:* Minke, Pangemanann, Nyai Ontosoroh, some combination of all three, or someone else entirely.[7] At the end of what has been a set of three novels striving to fit European critical and instrumental reason to the colonial world, the last novel of the quartet falls into unreason, reenchanting the world that Minke worked so hard to order.

Pramoedya's twinned protagonists in *House of Glass* are in a battle for survival: Minke, the narrator of the first three novels, and Minke's persecutor, the policeman Pangemanann, the narrator of the fourth novel, both undergo a process of desubjectivation in the course of the novel. This chapter explores processes of haunting, psychosis, trauma, and memory and how they are represented in the literary works of Pramoedya. Ideas of trauma and memory that were introduced in the preceding chapters are brought together here to explore how recent Indonesian literary works fit into such ongoing debates. It is in literary works by authors like Pramoedya and Ayu Utami—activists and writers of literary and nonliterary texts who carry out research at great personal cost—that phantoms and enigmatic messages of Indonesia's recent past survive.

The *Buru Quartet*

New research by Indonesian scholar Hilmar Farid has shown that Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* was produced through Pramoedya's ability to recreate his archives, which had been destroyed, first by Soekarno's government and then by Suharto's.[8] Pramoedya apparently had five or six helpers who wrote to prisoners in other parts of the camp to gather oral and written testimonies on Buru Island, where he and tens of thousands of other victims of the 1965–1966 violence and repression were imprisoned for up to ten years (1969–1979). Before 1969 the prisoners had been in various jails around Java. Farid suggests that Pramoedya formed a new identity for the former *tapol* (I *tahanan politik,* political prisoners) as a community of

listeners and readers of his work. Hersri Setiawan, another former *tapol* who spent nine years on Buru, comments on how Pramoedya was able to put together archives on Buru: "In addition, he also began to collect material (from his own memories and the recollections of fellow prisoners) for a planned cultural encyclopaedia of Indonesia. All of this material he typed up on whatever bits of old paper he could find, including old cement bags. I think all of these manuscripts formed some kind of "umbrella" for his political novels about the rise of Indonesian nationalism."[9]

Far from the enchanted Indies world of Couperus or Dermoût, the first three novels of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* about the early-twentieth-century protonationalist movement in the Indies present a disenchanted fictional world where modernity—its paranoias, pleasures, and anxieties—reigns.[10] Pramoedya wrote his quartet as a way to prevent historical forgetting and erasures, as a way to recuperate the past. He used all the archival

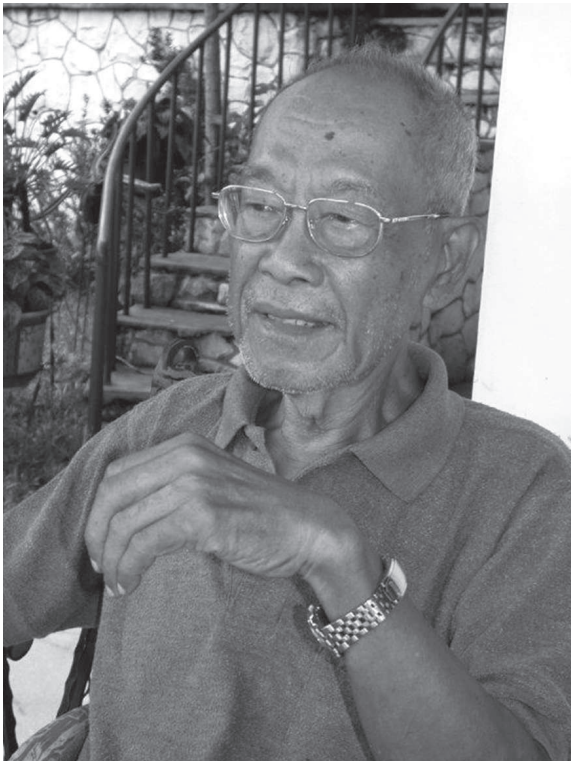


FIGURE 8 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, ca. 1997. Courtesy of Lontar Foundation, Jakarta.

materials he could gather from other prisoners as well as his memories of the documents on which he was working and which he was publishing in *Bintang Timur*'s cultural supplement "Lentera," edited by Pramoedya from 1962 to 1965. He also read all the literature he could find from the turn of the century and published as much of it as he could recover in the 1980s.[11] In the *Buru Quartet,* Pramoedya creates the mistress and companion, the *nyai,* that Tirto always wanted (see the discussion of *Busono* in Chapter 2): educated in Dutch and a local language, a good housekeeper, a good business woman, and, of course, beautiful. Pramoedya made many of the women in the quartet beautiful to keep the men in the camp entertained with phantasies. I learned this from Pramoedya when I visited him in 1990. I then asked him why Nyai Ontosoroh's beautiful daughter Annalies was so weak, and Pramoedya said that he held up the figure of Nyai Ontosoroh as a heroic model for the men: if a native woman could withstand so much suffering, then all of them (Pramoedya and the prisoners) could survive Buru, too. But, Pramoedya added enigmatically, it would be rare that both mother and daughter would be strong: one must be weak.

Pramoedya was arrested only weeks after the coup and countercoup of September 30 and October 1 of 1965 that brought down the Soekarno government. Pramoedya had been collecting an archive of information about the early twentieth century and, in particular, about the life of Tirto Adhi Soerjo. It was Pramoedya's intention to lift Tirto out of obscurity and to restore him to his rightful role as the founder of Indonesian nationalism as well as of the Native press. The *Buru Quartet* is the story of Tirto Adhi Soerjo's life told through fiction. In *This Earth of Mankind,* the hero, Minke, is a student at a prestigious Dutch high school (Hogere Burgerschool, HBS).[12] The events of books 1 and 2 of the quartet are only very loosely based on Tirto's life. They include the tragic love story of Minke's marriage to a Eurasian doll-like beauty in the first book, and the third book narrates his brief marriage to a frail Chinese activist beauty. No progeny comes from either marriage. Book 3 narrates major events that took place in the Indies in the first and second decades of the twentieth century through the eyes of Tirto/Minke, who, Pramoedya argues, played a major role in the protonationalist movement and the lively journalism of that time. In the 1950s and 1960s, Pramoedya and his students collected, read, and republished as much of the journalism and literary work as they could find from that period. The fourth book of the quartet, *House of*

Glass, begins after Minke has been exiled to Ambon for press offenses and his activism in general. Pramoedya loosely based this fourth novel on the intense struggle that he believed Tirto had with the Dutch colonial scholar and interim Advisor for Native Affairs in the Indies, Dr. R. A. Rinkes.[13] Rinkes served for a very brief period in the early twentieth century as a member of the General Secretariat (Algemeene Secretariat), the advisory body to the Governor General of the Indies, and Pangemanann, the protagonist of *House of Glass,* gets promoted to the Algemeene Secretariat as a phantasized first Native member in the course of the novel. In Pramoedya's tale, Rinkes is transformed into the Menadonese policeman Pangemanann. By making Minke's tormenter, opponent, and admirer a Native, albeit with European status as a colonial civil servant, Pramoedya makes the novel both more powerful and more subtle. Many, including the Indonesian government that banned all the books of Pramoedya, have read the *Buru Quartet* as a critique of Suharto's New Order, and it is this pitting of elite Native versus elite Native that gives that interpretation weight.[14]

Pangemanann's Hauntings

House of Glass opens with the character of Pangemanann as he relates his cooptation—or contamination—by the colonial state.[15] He becomes haunted when he carries out his first unethical act for the colonial state and then receives recognition and a promotion. Si Pitung, a village leader Pangemanann destroyed, appears to him as a phantasm; the phantasm follows him, as Pramoedya expresses it, like his own shadow. Pangemanann's hallucinations are reminiscent of Gerrit's worm in Couperus' *Twilight of the Souls* or the "Thing" from *Old People and Things That Pass Them By,* both discussed in Chapter 2, and, like Gerrit, Pangemann fights against his phantasm.

> Ziihhh. I hissed, chasing away that shadow of the devil. Only then would he disappear. I never told my wife about this nervous problem. It was not possible for me to go to a psychiatrist. There was not a single one in the Indies.[16]

> My life unfolded without twists and turns, straight as a piece of wire pulled taut. It was only since my extermination of Pitung's Gang that the wire had never been straight again. And now it was not just bent,

> but tangled. And I could not see how I could unravel the tangle. Every day my throat was wound tighter and tighter by an outside force: status. . . . I would have to destroy people like Bonifacio and Rizal of the Philippines.[17]

Pangemanann is introduced in book three of the quartet as a police commissioner who seeks out Minke several times with the task of spying on and interrupting Minke's successful activities in raising Native awareness and encouraging Native commerce. In *Footsteps* (book 3), these encounters are seen through Minke's first-person narration, and then the scenes are repeated in *House of Glass*, told from the narrative viewpoint of Pangemanann. This shot/reverse-angle-shot sequence, as it is called in film theory, is a method of stitching the spectator into the narrative.[18] There is always a delay between the first shot and the second, and in this gap the reader has time to form attachments that cannot be easily erased. Images and echoes of the first gaze are always haunting the second one.

The reader's first identification is with Minke, who has been the narrator of the first three books, but, in the beginning of *House of Glass,* as readers see this same action from Pangemanann's viewpoint, they are forced into a position of collusion with Minke's persecutor. At the end of *Footsteps,* Minke is kept in the dark by his wife, by his protectors, and by Pangemanann about events that they all are planning to counter an attack on Minke. Pangemanann was raised in France and educated as a Frenchman. He is married to a French woman and has four children, two of them studying in Europe. Like Minke, Pangemanann has European status and privileges. Minke is suspicious of Pangemanann, but he does not realize how powerful the police commissioner is. Minke still believes he has autonomy, when he is merely a pawn in Pangemanann's growing desire for recognition at any cost. Pangemanann's Oedipal desire to know, to keep people in his glass house, or greenhouse, leads him to test his superiors in the colonial government as well as the activists under his supposed control.[19] He informs Minke's feisty Moluccan wife, Princess, of the intended government attack on Minke—organized by Pangemanann himself—and Princess is able to work with Minke's other protectors to kill two of the attackers and seriously injure the third. This serves Pangemanann's purposes of getting rid of the hated Eurasian thug Robert Suurhof, whom Pangemanann is forced to hire to carry out his dirty work and who has haunted Minke since the first pages of the quartet. This is another of Pramoedya's strategies for allowing

the reader to sympathize with Pangemanann since the reader has also learned to hate Robert Suurhof from the first book of the quartet. After the failure of the government's attack on Minke, set up by Pangemanann to watch the figures struggle within his glass house, Pangemanann loses control of the situation, and the colonial government exiles Minke to Ambon. Pangemanann spends the rest of the novel chasing Minke's intellectual progeny, who keep multiplying, as Pangemanann himself becomes less human or civilized, in a French sense, and more obsessed with power. As Pangemanann becomes less human, he becomes more haunted by visions of those he has killed or wronged.

> My head throbbed. Sentences bounced back and forth inside my throat like balls. I knew that I did not have to suffer like this. Hadn't I lost all faith in myself? Wasn't all that was left inside me just a crater of desires [*nafsu*], whose every explosion sought release? Only other desires, desires for respect and reputation, those were the source of all life's needs that tortured me. My body was just a vehicle in which different desires struggled for dominance. No scraps of my old beliefs were left to fight back. Everything had been destroyed.[20]

Pangemanann's hauntings lead him, by the end of *House of Glass,* to a state of mental anguish where he can no longer remember his own values, and he can no longer distinguish what is happening around him from what he is phantasizing. His triumph at wiping out the memory of Minke's successes in bringing the nation into being is doubled and contaminated as he realizes that his own actions and memories have been erased also. His anguish is also caused by his loss of faith in his colonial education at the Sorbonne in Paris and the rule of law that he had been taught there. When the colonial government illegally seizes Minke's personal property, that which Pangemanann has been taught is the foundation of capitalism, and illegally freezes Minke's assets, Pangemanann becomes distraught.

> I couldn't stop thinking, how could Europeans, whose sense of the law is so deep, behave like forest outlaws? If it had been one of the Asian peoples who had done such a thing, I could have understood because their rulers' own capricious, despotic, and lawless behavior meant that Asians had lost all sense of their rights. . . . This was not Europe! And the victim was not even allowed to defend himself![21]

Pangemanann has accepted the colonial argument that the Natives do not deserve to rule themselves because they are lawless, but he finds the colonials are equally lawless. Later in the narrative, the analysis that Pangemanann has been making of the character traits of those in Minke's position is expanded to include an analysis of the character of the colonizer. Pangemanann becomes more cynical and disillusioned as he becomes enchanted with and corrupted by power.

> To oppress is a part of the colonial character. And the pleasure that you obtain from oppression is even deeper than that obtained from simply forbidding. And Europeans, who come from that democratic society of theirs, after just six months of breathing the colonial air, will quickly be addicted to forbidding and oppressing, enjoying the rights once exercised by the same Native kings that they so love to insult and revile.[22]

By the end of the novel, Pangemanann is physically sick, aware that his moment of fame is over, wracked with shame over his role in Minke's death, and forced to face Nyai and her daughter and explain to them what has happened to Minke. Nyai understands that Pangemanann is the one responsible for her son-in-law's death. She asks to be taken to Minke's grave. At the grave, Pangemanann kneels to avoid falling over as they listen to the caretaker's prayer.

> His tormenting prayer seemed as if it would never end. I gazed around the field before me where there grew all kinds of headstones, from wood, from river stones, from brick, from bamboo. The whole scene before me was growing with nothing but gravestones, dancing, waving, like hands reaching out groping for something. Aah! The way the woman beside me looked at me. And then the gravestones started trembling and extending themselves. There were some that sprang out so quickly they seemed to want to scratch at me. I closed my eyes and buried my face in my two hands.[23]

Pangemanann continually talks to himself, the bandit Pitung, and Minke, and Minke's ghost becomes his primary interlocutor. By the end of the novel, Pangemanann is writhing in psychic and physical pain: he, who had received the best education the colonial world had to offer, has wasted that education to engineer Minke's death. Was that the purpose of his fine

French education? He has now been forgotten as the government has more use for members of the Boedi Oetomo, the conservative Javanist organization discussed in Chapter 3, who pander to the government's whims. Unlike Minke and Nyai, who achieved something in their lives, he has not even been able to slow the rise of the anticolonial movement.

The Suitcase of Dreams

Pangemanann's intention to sail to Holland at the end of *House of Glass* recalls several emotionally wrenching trips presented in the first three books of the quartet. The first was that of Nyai Ontosoroh, Minke's mother-in-law, who is forced to leave home at fourteen or fifteen with only her mother's scratched and scarred small brown tin suitcase, when she is sold by her father to the Dutchman who would become Annalies' father. Annalies, Minke's first wife, recapitulates this journey when she is forced to leave Java at the end of *This Earth of Mankind* (book 1), and she chooses to take only the same small brown suitcase, her wedding batik made by Minke's mother, and, as she says, her mother's memories. The fragile hold on her sanity and subjectivity relentlessly unravels into unconsciousness as the boat gets closer to Europe. The suitcase is returned to Java at the end of *Child of All Nations* (book 2), brought back by the eldest son of Nyai's Dutch master, who had, possibly inadvertently, caused Annalies's death. The end of the third novel, *Footsteps,* recapitulates the leave-taking moment when Pangemanann arrests Minke, and Minke chooses to leave with only the old brown suitcase. Minke's suitcase contains only a change of clothes and a toothbrush until his loyal maidservant brings him his wife's towel to take as a remembrance.

What is the suitcase, and how does it function as a quilting or anchoring point in the quartet? Is it a suitcase of dreams and memories? Does it change for each person who uses it for a journey? Or does it carry ballast—the ballast of the nation-to-be—reminiscent of the story that the Professor told to Soeprapto in Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things* of the prince who, insulted by his father, sails away from his home and needs to find ballast in the form of soil similar to that from his native land so that his ship can sail? In the quartet, the suitcase leaves Java twice and returns twice; Pangemanann does not have possession of the suitcase at the end of the quartet. The first return of the suitcase is after Annalies's death, when her few possessions are returned to Nyai. Minke later brings the suitcase

back from his exile in Ambon and carries it around Batavia in his last few days. From Pangemanann's viewpoint, the suitcase is worthless.

> How surprised I was when we alighted at Tanjung Priuk, Betawi: his [Minke's] luggage was nothing more than a small tin suitcase, old, curved and hollow, its paint barely visible.
>
> "No other things, Sir?" I asked.
>
> "Yes."
>
> "Let me get them."
>
> "No need, I've brought it all in my head."
>
> "Oh, I understand."[24]

But does Pangemanann really understand the suitcase and its weight, its history of dreams: from Nyai's memories carried by Annalies to Minke's knowledge of how to build organizations? And did not Pramoedya himself come to the realization that he too carried everything important "in his head" after his archives were destroyed? By the end of the novel, Pangemanann understands that the protonationalist ideas Minke has worked so hard to develop cannot be stopped. The ideas cannot be packed in a suitcase, but they can be carried in one's head. Minke is the only one able to bring the suitcase back to his "home," even though that home has been confiscated along with Minke's other properties and given to Pangemanann.

Minke has something that Nyai, Annalies, and Pangemanann do not have. Nyai lacks status and the ability to forgive, Annalies lacks the will to survive, and Pangemanann lacks morality. Minke maintains his moral center until the end, refusing to compromise with unethical power; he loses battles but not the war. Nevertheless, the two Natives with European privilege, Minke and Pangemanann, and the Eurasian Annalies, an Indo with Dutch status, are slowly desubjectified in the quartet, showing the failure of these three condensations of colonial subjectivity: the nationalist, the collaborator, and Pramoedya's positioning of Annalies as a melancholic version of the colonizer who refuses.[25] In *House of Glass,* the suitcase is the quilting point that stitches over the realization that the colonial tactics and racist policies described so well by Pramoedya through Pangemanann's relentless pursuit of Minke and others like him have been adopted and are being practiced by Suharto's New Order. By focusing on the figure of Pangemanann, the complexities of Pramoedya's narrative voices as well as

the slippages that Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen has identified between the "subject of desire" and the "Other" come into focus. "The question remains, in other words, whether that which we persist in calling the *subject* of desire or the *subject* of the unconscious can really be so easily distinguished from what we no less stubbornly persist in thinking of as its *Other*—namely, in no particular order, the symbolic Father, Law, prohibition, society, power."[26]

The ability of the colonial government to turn Pangemanann so easily from a loving family man and decent policeman into a colonial collaborator and persecutor with no ethics and no moral ground is contrasted by the uncanny doubling of Minke and Pangemanann in their educational status, their obsession with writing, and their inability to fathom one another that the reader encounters in the shot–reverse shot sequence when Pangemanann is first introduced as the new narrator in *House of Glass.* Pangemanann's fall is encapsulated by Borch-Jacobsen's succinct statement of the slippage between the subject and power, the colonial state.

Can the dreams of the nation survive in postcolonial modernity? The almost-empty suitcase of national dreams remains in the hands of Minke's friend Goenawan, the friend with Minke when he dies in the novel. In the case of Tirto, outside of the novel, Goenawan was also the friend who said Tirto died in his arms, even though there had been a falling-out between them, possibly over the hotel they had owned together while Tirto was in exile.[27] In the novel, the suitcase of dreams remains in the Indies even though the manuscripts, the reader assumes, are heading to France. This leaves open the fate or future of the nation when Pramoedya's quartet ends in 1918, and Pramoedya publishes *House of Glass* in New Order Indonesia in 1988. Recently, Max Lane, translator of all four of the novels, has suggested that Pramoedya purposefully blurs authorial identity in the quartet because of the help he received in the Buru penal colony in putting together his new literary archive.[28] Hilmar Farid's explanation of how the other prisoners helped to rebuild Pramoedya's archive supports Lane's position. Although this interpretation is feasible, one could extend it to many literary works that weave together voices, stories, and sources in the process of creation. Ayu Utami acknowledges her colleagues at the Utan Kayu (Wood Jungle) Artists and Writers Collective in Jakarta for their help in the creation of her novels *Saman* and *Larung,* discussed in Chapter 6. Pramoedya's community of writers included his fellow prisoners, those thrown away by the New Order state. Ayu's community includes artists and intellectuals who stood in delicate opposition to the New Order state

from within.[29] Sometimes writing communities form in unlikely places. Slippage between the subject of desire and its Other, reflected in the relationship between the artist/writer and power, is always possible.

Implied Authors, Archives, and Afterwardsness

One of Pramoedya's main themes in his last book of the quartet concerns the power of writing and the control of textual and archival materials. What Minke, the hero and narrator of the first three books of the quartet, leaves for posterity are his notebooks/novels, which carry his ideas in material form. These books are then edited by the colonial collaborator Pangemanann, but they are returned to Minke's stepmother Nyai Ontosoroh, who is still in Batavia at the end of the quartet, and Nyai has final power over the transcription and transmission of the texts.[30] These texts and their ideas are Minke's progeny since he was unable to father children, and the texts are what survive. But the novel's implied author says that it is the archivist who has the ultimate power over documents: she or he can make them appear or disappear through the arcane European practices of cataloging and retrieval: "I have shown you everything. I have total control over all this material. I alone know the cataloguing codes. If I say that certain documents do not exist, there is no power that can bring them forth."[31]

Tirto's story was buried in the archives for decades until Pramoedya found the remnants of the story through his research in Jakarta in the 1950s and early 1960s. These remnants are destroyed again, this time by the postcolonial state, and it is Pramoedya's desire for the survival of Tirto's memories—and the survival of his own memories, too—that compels him to narrate Tirto/Minke's story to his fellow prisoners in Buru. In the quartet, Pramoedya's and Tirto's traumas become intertwined as the memories are narrated, again destroyed, re-remembered by Pramoedya and his fellow prisoners, and eventually written down and smuggled out of Buru. The quartet is the archive of these narrative and traumatic memories.

The relations among author, implied author, narrators, fictional characters, and historical characters prefigure *House of Glass*' dark phantasy of the postcolonial Indonesian nation of the future. Pramoedya's own persona as a dominant and tragic figure in Suharto's Indonesia; Pramoedya's linking of the erased and forgotten father of the nation, Tirto Adhi Soerjo, with his own personal narrative through his fictional character Minke;

and the narrative switch in the last book of the quartet from the heroic Minke/Tirto to the slowly unraveling Pangemanann produce authorial complexity with no closure. If, as is common, interpreters of the quartet identify Minke with Pramoedya, Pangemanann must be identified with Pramoedya too. Perhaps the dissolution of Pangemanann includes a reflection on Pramoedya's flirtation with power in the last years of Soekarno's Old Order, a time that many of Pramoedya's fellow writers and artists still remember with bitterness. Laplanche's notion of afterwardsness suggests that, if Pramoedya had not been *dibuang* (thrown away), as he always called it, to the Buru prison camp for ten years, he could not have understood either Minke or Pangemanann so well.[32] Adding to this authorial complexity is the possibility of a feminine narrator who haunts the quartet as a whole and especially the struggle between Nyai and Pangemanann in the final book.[33] Minke is displaced and erased in *House of Glass:* his desubjectivation starts with his exile to Ambon, moves relentlessly through the theft of his manuscripts and material possessions, and ends with his unknown and unmourned death.[34] Although Minke maintains his ideological purity to the end, Pangemanann suffers a distorted facsimile of Minke's fate: he too is forgotten, loses everything he once loved, and loses the capacity to love anything but power and recognition. He betrays the ideals he once had, and his survival and his sanity are in question at the close of the novel. He plans to leave the Indies and sail to Holland, and, the reader supposes, Nyai plans to sail to France with the manuscripts that will become the *Buru Quartet,* although this too is left open. The quartet itself, as many have suggested, has only found a home within Indonesia itself since the fall of the New Order. The violence and killings of the 1960s caused Pramoedya to write the story of the nation's birth in the way that he did: the nation's birth comes after the nation's death.

How does the postcolonial nation fare after the killings of the 1960s? If the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century was the time of capital in the Indies, according to the early books of Pramoedya's quartet, the late 1960s would have been the time of postcolonial Indonesia's reentry into the world of capital after Soekarno's leftist politics. In an extended review of Pheng Cheah's *Spectral Nationality,* Simon Gikandi argues that, like Fanon and Cabral, Cheah shows the impossibility of separating the "project of culture" from the emergence of the postcolonial nation. He says Cheah wishes to see the state as the source of "cultural energy" since it lies between the living nation and dead capital: "But my [Gikandi's] reading

of the situation is less sanguine: I see the state literally standing between the subjects and their local and global desires. And I see the postcolonial nation not as the apposite figure for freedom standing against the interests of global capital but the enabler of the narrative of capital."[35] Hilmar Farid offers a similar assessment of the impact of the 1965–1966 massacres in Indonesia, also as a way of making room for capitalist expansion: "I suggest we think of the great upheaval of 1965–66 as one of those epoch-making moments when, to quote Marx, 'great masses of people are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence.' "[36] In the next chapter, Ayu Utami's work addresses these arguments and presents a critique of the masculinist Indonesian nation.

Indonesian Histories and Literary Archives

This chapter has explored the ways in which novels might expand and enrich the Indonesian archives of the recent past by bringing issues of trauma into discourse. History writing is always a process of double inscription: what may have happened is always shadowed by the historian's attempt to record what may have happened. This chapter has shown again that, like history writing or dread and enchantment, haunting, phantoms, and secrets are also processes through which time is stretched, diminished, or doubled.[37] In Pramoedya's novel there are doubled heroes, phantoms, and secrets that work to disrupt time and challenge memory. Returning to a point made in the introduction to this book, no essential narrative exists in trauma survivors that is waiting to be given voice. If the listener—whether historian, ethnographer, or novelist—elicits a narrative that takes shape in the act of telling, then the scholar works in a similar manner to the novelist in reshaping and giving voice to memories. The scholar and the novelist both become part of this process of doubled inscription.

Indonesian historical archives have many unrecognized losses, recurring returns, ruptures, and wounds that become spectral presences haunting contemporary narratives of the past. In *House of Glass,* Pramoedya comments, through Pangemanann, on the archives of the colonial Indies and insinuates this is also true for New Order archives: "The papers that lay before me represented a past full of secrets and strange spirits. They made my hair stand on end. . . . I left that cemetery of the past with relief."[38] Like the characters in Pramoedya's novels, the archives contain secrets that are passed down over the generations, enigmatic messages from

the past, messages that no one has ever listened to enough. *House of Glass* shows how psychoanalytical discourses have been used by a contemporary Indonesian writer. It also shows that these analyses have much to offer the study of Indonesian history. To assume that the narratives of the mid-1960s and the late 1990s are open to various interpretations is to see their truth claims as conditional or contingent. But this is not to suggest that such truth claims are unimportant. As old archives are reconfigured and new ones come into being, it is important to cultivate new interpretive methodologies along with new testimonies and stories. If time and memory are reconfigured by traumatic events, those who create, maintain, or even destroy the traces that archives collect need to learn how to read the doubled inscriptions of Indonesian pasts. In the following chapter, Ayu Utami's books present the nation's activist men as weak and haunted failures. For Ayu, the postcolonial nation and its citizens are still traumatized by the excesses of the New Order period.

CHAPTER 6

Masculinist Trauma and Feminist Melancholia

> To see the myth in the natural and the real in the magic, to demythologize history and to reenchant its reified representation; that is a first step. To reproduce the natural and the real without this recognition may be to fasten ever more firmly the hold of the mythic. (Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*)

> Then it was 1966 and just remembering the date makes people here shudder, even little things about any neighbor who was killed when the troops of the angel of death incarnated on earth as humans, but we never knew who they were. We only knew when they were already herding us toward the gaping hole, their faces dark and eyes missing. We couldn't trust anybody, not our lovers, not even our own selves. Because at that time only by pointing to someone else could we save ourselves, moving the death over our heads over the head of another. (Utami, *Larung*)

Ayu Utami is one of the most impressive of the post–New Order generation of novelists writing in Indonesia today. Combining her skills in research journalism with a poetic feel for language and a fresh approach to human subjectivity and sexuality, Ayu's novels have become popular in Indonesia and beyond.[1] Ayu's novel *Saman* and its sequel *Larung* investigate how trauma shapes and haunts Indonesian archives. Because history writing during the New Order period (March 1966 to May 1998) was supposed to follow New Order master narratives, and foreign researchers

could be banned from Indonesia for stirring up controversial memories, the body of information about the psychological aftereffects of the violence of the New Order government has been growing slowly as Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars document the recent past.[2] Since the late 1990s critical work by Indonesian scholars taking an analytical approach to the violence of the 1960s and the later New Order period has appeared, and it may take a generation to rethink the historiography of the late twentieth century.[3] It is in novels like Ayu's that oppositional interpretations of the New Order survive. Ten years after Pramoedya's novel about haunting, hallucinations, and the construction and deconstruction of Indonesian archives, the novels of Ayu Utami bring new perspectives and new politics of location to these issues.

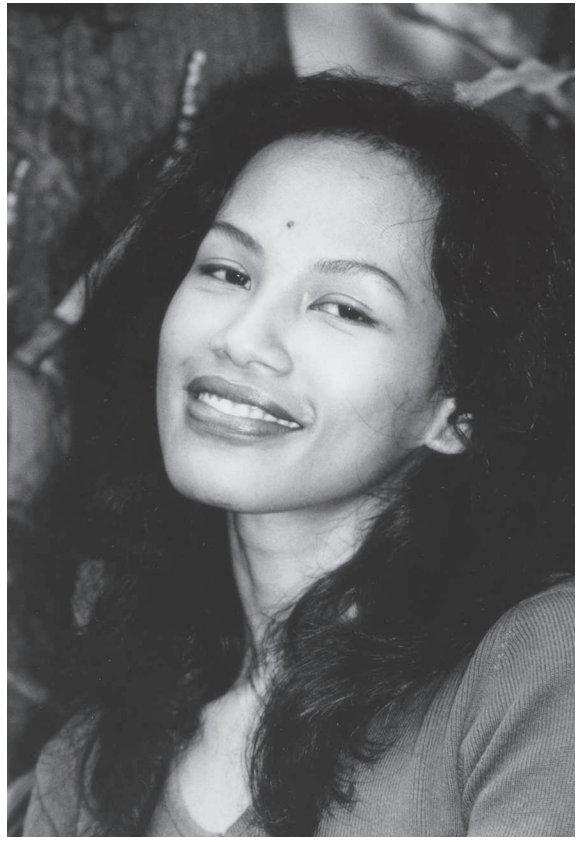


FIGURE 9 Ayu Utami, ca. 2000. Courtesy of Lontar Foundation, Jakarta.

Saman and *Larung* and Indonesian Histories

Like Pramoedya's *House of Glass,* Ayu Utami's first two novels, *Saman* and *Larung,* also present doubled heroes: the activists Saman, a former priest, and the mysterious and psychotic Larung. Pramoedya's twinned heroes show the dark and the light side of the nationalist ideal. Ayu's twinned heroes are both activists for the cause of the nation, but one is sane and one is not. In novels that reveal the brutality and sensuality of life in late New Order Indonesia, Ayu Utami depicts ghosts and haunted characters. In her work, Ayu portrays events and characters that suggest that post-*reformasi* Indonesia still suffers from the traumas of the New Order period and that melancholia or depression may be the affect haunting contemporary Indonesia. In her novel *Bilangan Fu* (The Fu Numeral) of 2008, discussed below, Ayu offers an alternative to critical melancholia, what she calls critical spiritualism (I *spiritualisme kritis*), as a different hope for Indonesia's future.[4]

Ayu's novels offer glimpses into the traumatic conditions just before and after the fall of the New Order in 1998 as well as the earlier violence of the mid-1960s in Indonesia. Reading them closely does not imply a search for truth, but rather a path for insight into habitual and emotional life in the New Order period and an exploration of practices of mourning, melancholia, and survival. Ayu's novels are treated here as part of an archive of testimonies that bear witness to the excesses and atrocities of Indonesia's New Order government. In 1965–1966 and after, those responsible for the killings of hundreds of thousands of supposed communists in Java, Bali, and elsewhere in Indonesia were treated as heroes, and what they did was argued to have saved the nation from the evils of communism. This message was constantly reiterated during the thirty-two years of the New Order through yearly commemorations, films, books, and government programs and proclamations. Those leftists or sympathizers who survived the violence of 1965–1966 have been silenced, unable to articulate their experiences, memories, or feelings of bitterness and outrage. Ayu's novels explore these legacies of violence in Java, Sumatra, and Bali.

Saman, the first of Ayu's novels, appeared in 1998, ten days before the fall of the New Order government, and its sequel, *Larung,* appeared three years later.[5] Saman, the hero of the first novel, is a Catholic priest who is drawn into the struggle of poor farmers against multinational agro-business. Because of his deepening involvement with a poor community

of transmigrant rubber tree farmers in south Sumatra who refuse to follow the dictates of the oil palm monopolies, Saman is jailed by the Indonesian authorities, tortured, and eventually smuggled out of Indonesia. In the course of his dangerous escape, he becomes involved with Yasmin, a married activist, who helps him to flee from Indonesia to New York City. The sequel, *Larung,* continues the story of Saman and introduces a second activist named Larung. Ayu's novels take place in urban spaces between Jakarta and New York City, in south Sumatra and Bali, in journeys into villages and towns, and on the high seas of late New Order Indonesia. The novels also take place in the phantasies and hallucinations of Saman and Larung, the activist heroes, and the phantasies of Shakuntala, one of the heroines.

Saman introduces the intertwined lives of four women who have known each other since childhood. Laila is a photographer working on a story about the oil company Texcoil, active in the South China Sea around southern Sumatra. Laila's childhood friends include a bisexual dancer, Shakuntala, on a fellowship in New York City; Cok, a Balinese businesswoman who runs a hotel in Pekanbaru; and Yasmin, a married Menadonese human rights lawyer and activist who becomes emotionally and sexually involved with the former priest, Saman. The women are wealthy enough to move around without financial concerns. They speak Jakarta slang, are sexually explicit and adventurous, and serve as each other's emotional supports. They become involved in Yasmin's human rights work through their various connections with Saman, their former teacher when they were middle and high school students at a Catholic school in Jakarta. They move, occasionally alone, often as a group, through their memories, phantasies, and desires. Their narrative voices, constantly shifting from first to third person, are restless, continually probing the limits of individual subjectivity. Although each woman is quite different, their voices blend into a syncopated chorus as they discuss their sexual, political, and romantic adventures in Jakarta and New York City.

Through these women's relationships with each other and with the various men and women in their lives, Ayu provides a sobering commentary on the events leading up to the fall of Suharto in May of 1998 and the general disillusionment after the failure of Abdurrachman Wahid's *reformasi* government in 2001. *Saman* is an innovative novel in the field of Indonesian literature, with bold depictions of government abuses and torture as well as female sexuality, and discussions of Saman's loss of faith and subsequent adulterous affair. The second, and less accessible, novel,

Larung, presents more complex views of elite female subjectivity in Indonesia through its continual questioning of intention, consciousness, and political commitment, and the novel's sophisticated analysis of the aftereffects of the New Order period. The first seventy-four pages of this novel take place in the mind of Larung, the main character; other voices appear only through Larung's perspective in this part of the book. After the lengthy introductory scene with Larung and his Balinese grandmother, to be discussed below, Larung hardly appears again until the very end of the novel. The early macabre scenes where Larung searches for ways to kill his grandmother move from the phantasmatic into the quotidian when Larung meets Cok and chats with her at his grandmother's funeral in Bali.

The notion of the **phantasmatic**, or *a* phantasmatic (F ***une fantasmatique***), is best articulated in Laplanche and Pontalis' famous essay on phantasy, phantasms, and sexuality cited in Chapter 2. Although a number of scholars have used ideas of the phantasmatic to illuminate history and literature in studies of East and Southeast Asia and Asian America, the scholar whose work I find most useful for this chapter is Anne Anlin Cheng.[6] Cheng explains how Laplanche and Pontalis' theorization of phantasy is more than an integral part of Freud's unconscious. Laplanche and Pontalis distinguish between conscious and unconscious phantasy, both in dreams and in daydreams. Cheng understands Laplanche and Pontalis' *fantasmatique* as a process of self-narration or autobiography: "how we narrate our lives and ourselves." Laplanche and Pontalis explain the work of phantasy as a form of secondary revision, rooting the idea in Freud's "**dream-work**."[7] As Cheng explains: "The fantasmatic negotiates the real and the unreal, the conscious and the unconscious, in such a way as to render possible the sense of one's life as a whole. It is the fantasmatic that allows for a sense and structure of identity to take hold. The fantasmatic enables identity."[8] Cheng credits Laplanche and Pontalis with seeing the subject as creating parts of the self everywhere in a phantasy that is struggling to enable an identity. Laplanche and Pontalis use the phrase **desubjectivized form** to describe the subject as scattered throughout a phantasy. Cheng says that the subject (of a phantasy) "finds himself in multiple locations." This is exactly what Freud suggested in his "dream-work," where he introduced the ideas of displacement and condensation that have proved so useful for literary and film studies. Cheng goes on to discuss desubjectivation, agency, and **agencyless subjects**, but she suggests that, through the search for its identity, the subject comes to find a setting

for the "self," that which phantasy enables. These ideas of the phantasmatic are particularly useful for understanding Ayu's novels *Saman* and *Larung.* Phantasies pervade Ayu's work, as a way of negating "reality" and a way of contemplating the plight of Indonesian subjects striving to find their identities after thirty-two years of oppressive rule.

The first seventy-four pages of *Larung* plunge the reader into a *fantasmatique. Larung* explores how subjectivity and memory are scattered in phantasies and in the negation of subjectivity and memory in the face of trauma.[9] Larung is psychotic, and his inability to feel empathy will lead to both his and Saman's deaths. Ayu's characterizations are more complex in *Larung* than in *Saman,* and the lines between phantasy and "reality" are intentionally blurred.[10] More than *Saman, Larung* is a critical study of memory, haunting, and trauma. The next section explores the implications of these intertwined processes for the writing of Indonesian histories.

Freud, Situated Testimonies, and Disciplinary Attachments

Haunting and the return of the repressed are important parts of the cosmopolitan Freudian discourse. Freud's ideas are used by Ayu to evoke the trauma and phantoms that are ever-present and meaningful in her novels. People are murdered and traumatized in Ayu's novels because they interfere in government corruption and they know too much, even though the perpetrators of these atrocities often remain hazy. Whereas the traumas presented in *Saman* center on the late–New Order government and its abuses, *Larung* investigates the traumas—sexual and psychic—left in the wake of the killings of 1965–1966 and the brutality of New Order torture. Ayu shows how these traumas resonate with mythological stories from the Javanese and Balinese past. The Freudian concepts of traumatic neurosis and *Nachträglichkeit,* or Laplanche's afterwardsness, are useful in explaining the return of a trauma experienced by the troubled hero, Larung, as a young child. As noted in Chapter 2, Freud commented on the "traumatic neuroses" in his post–World War I essay on the pleasure principle, and he connected these traumatic neuroses to railway accidents and other forms of shock or fright.[11] Freud's ideas about the cause and symptoms of traumatic injuries were developed in his major revisionist writings that appeared in the 1920s with a stress on the "compulsion to repeat" and the idea of *Nachträglichkeit.* Larung and his grandmother, whom he "euthanizes," have both witnessed traumatic events in their childhood. Larung is

unable to bring these events into narrative or declarative memory.[12] Ayu's novel depicts Larung's inability to assimilate the traumatic scenes he witnessed as a child and their repeated return as delusions and hauntings.[13] Ayu also uses Freudian theories to explain sexual phantasies and practices that cause her characters to feel guilt.[14]

In his work on criminality in Indonesia, James Siegel explores the appearance of ghosts and trauma in the New Order period and its aftermath.[15] Siegel's work links ghosts and criminality to the nation-state through notions of the counterfeit (*palsu*) and the fictive, and the substitution of criminals for the people (*rakyat*) in the transition from Soekarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order state.[16] In *Naming the Witch,* his remarkable book on the killing of witches in East Java in the post-Suharto period of 1998–1999, Siegel expands some of his insights from his earlier work and moves toward a very specific study of how and why witches were identified and killed in one area of Indonesia during a time when centralized state power had weakened. He suggests, "Witchcraft makes comprehensible what is beyond reason."[17]

If the chapters of this book argue that novels can be seen as situated testimonies of the past, is ethnography also a form of situated testimony? Although ethnography includes participant observation, both qualitative and quantitative, and is now practiced with elite subjects as well as nonelite ones, it has often been undertaken as an outsider's view of another culture. Today members of mixed or non-mixed ethnic groups carry out research within their own families or communities, but the premise is often that the researcher is not quite a primary part of the community. When community members are identifiable, ethnographic practice encourages a blurring of several community members to protect individual identities within specific communities. Sociocultural anthropologists value vivid descriptive writing, first-person narratives, and anecdotal information. These are the qualities that make anthropological writing accessible and engaging. To answer whether ethnography is a type of situated testimony, I suggest ethnography is also a method of secondary revision or elaboration. A series of events and characters are observed by an ethnographer, like the events in a dream, and the ethnographer must find a narrative or theoretical line through which to interpret these events. If ethnography is a situated testimony, it is the testimony of the anthropologist rather than that of his or her subjects. An ethnographer has a connection and perhaps a responsibility to the rules of the discipline to provide his or her testimony of events

and people in such a way as to ring true to readers of the work. A novelist does not operate under the same constraints as an ethnographer, but novelists have their own attachments to forms of truth-telling.

In the wake of the anthropological critiques that started in the mid-1980s with the publication of James Clifford and George E. Marcus' edited volume *Writing Culture,* ethnography has been seen, at least within certain groups of sociocultural anthropologists, as a poetic form of writing about the Other.[18] Novelists like Ayu Utami and Pramoedya, and the other authors whose works I have chosen to explore in this book, have a commitment to what Cheng calls a "desire for history" or **documentary desires**.[19] Ayu, in particular, sees her work as a form of testimony that mixes historical events with phantasies, psychic life with sexual mores, biblical tales with electronic love letters. Historians, in contrast to novelists, are urged to adopt "neutral" and "objective" stances in their work and to hide any ideological attachments they may have. They are trained to avoid "I-statements"; they are taught to erase themselves from their stories, producing what Donna Haraway has called "the view from nowhere" in her essay on "Situated Knowledges." This does not mean, in my opinion, that the work of historians is more committed to truth-telling than that of novelists or ethnographers. On the contrary, I suggest that some historians are more naïve about their ideological relationship to the stories they tell. When historians or anthropologists agree with dominant narratives, they can sometimes assume that their point of view is neutral. And if ethnography is a situated testimony of the anthropologist writing it, the same is true for historians. More ethnographers, novelists, and historians today are making their readers aware of their ideological commitments as authors, and this is useful for literary critics, for those who study historiography, and for those who study the history of anthropology.

Similar to Siegel's analysis of witchcraft cited above, Ayu's *Saman* and *Larung* also offer critical interpretations of how phantoms and witches might link to Freudian notions of trauma, melancholia, sadomasochism, and *Nachträglichkeit.* Ayu's twinned heroes are both wounded, and one is psychotic. The characters Saman and Larung are both witches who haunt the present in uncanny ways: Saman is a sympathetic witch, and Larung is not. The four heroines are alternately strong-willed and indecisive, cosmopolitan and insular, sexually adventurous and emotionally naïve. Promiscuous in word and deed, the women serve as mediators between men who do the serious political work of the underground movement.[20] The

most powerful and shrewd figures in *Larung* are the two widows/witches, Larung's grandmother and her friend, who lived through the killings of the 1960s and who were able to protect their families. The Freudian theme of the **uncanny** double is a strong one in *Larung,* and, as the novel opens, Larung is contemplating how to kill his aging and powerful grandmother.[21]

Hauntings and Trauma

"Who determines the hour of someone's death?"[22] These are the opening words of *Larung.* [23] As the story unfolds, the reader is drawn into the psychotic mind of Larung Lanang (J/I for "dead man floating"), a man with a plan to euthanize his very old, powerful, and spiteful grandmother. Larung is haunted by the familiar and foul smells of his very old grandmother as he goes on his Javanese journey to seek the mystery of her long survival and the key to her secret powers: "The smells of my grandma come from the cupboard and the floor of the bathroom too. Batik, *lerak,* plain cloth, and beeswax. Coconut hair oil that binds the powdered hair dye. 'Bigen' brand. The older I got the more I could smell the cells of her body. Dandruff, sweat gathered with vinegar and oil, all kinds of shit and oozings from her body . . . droplets of cleaning fluid to wash the urine and feces from the bathroom tile."[24] The smells of Larung's childhood are vividly evoked, and they call up his memories of time past. In a nearby Javanese city, he finally finds her old friend whom he has been seeking for a year, a woman he had seen in a photo when he was looking though his grandmother's possessions to discover her secrets. There were two photos of this woman, leading Larung to think she might be important to solve the mysteries of his grandmother's life and death. Like his grandmother, she too is a *pawang,* a practitioner of black magic. This old woman takes Larung on a phantasmatic journey into a dark, haunted cave, and it is this journey that answers his questions.

The story the old lady tells is a key to Larung's life and early trauma. She tells him that his father might be one of these ghosts in the cave—the gaping hole filled with the ghosts of those killed in 1965–1966—as Ayu calls it in the second epigraph that opens this chapter. Larung and his mother could have been among the ghosts, too, if the powers of his grandmother had not protected them. When the men in the trucks from Java came that night with covered faces to take his father away, the grandmother let them take him. But when the men came back for the rest of the family, she stood in the doorway, and her sheer physical presence

prevented them from entering. After the old woman tells him this, Larung says: "I don't understand. (I don't want to understand.)"[25] Larung's search is not a search for understanding but rather a search for efficacy. Larung's encounter with the old woman is a transaction he is willing to die for. Either he will die, or she will give him the answer he seeks. Then she tells him the Calonarang story, still popular in Bali, from the eleventh century. This is the story of the powerful widow/witch Calonarang and her beautiful daughter, Manjali. Unable to find a husband because of her mother's powers, Manjali becomes uncontrollable and destructive until a husband is chosen for her by King Airlangga as a way to kill her mother, Calonarang. Manjali's husband uses her to destroy her mother. When this happens, Manjali leaves her husband and becomes a witch too, living with her spite in an endless night, like the ghosts in the cave whom Larung has just met.[26] The introduction of Calonarang and Manjali doubles yet again the stories of the two grandmothers/witches with their supernatural powers—characters who cannot be killed without specific knowledge from another witch. It also foreshadows the title of Ayu's fourth novel, of 2010.

Larung waits in the cave with his grandmother's old friend and her servant for a long time as the old woman tries to conquer his desire to appropriate and use her magic to kill his own grandmother, her friend. And he questions his existence in this world of ghosts. "Then I became quiet and alienated because I was not from this world of phantoms. Who am I in this darkness? Not subject, nor object, just something strange. Who are they, [in] that darkness, who now seem more alive than I. I feel like letting go, withered."[27] Finally, after hours go by, Larung counters the power of the old woman, and she provides him with the magic charm that will allow him to kill his grandmother. The old lady gives him six *cupu* (magic containers) with magical charms inside. She tells him he will have six opportunities to regret his decision and turn back. The six *cupu* are to be placed on the body of his grandmother to open the magical pathways and allow her spirit to leave. Larung puts the magical *cupu* into a bag and wears it around his neck.

Larung can now accomplish his mission and kill his grandmother. He only hopes that she might die by herself before he returns home. But she is still there when he returns, always a watchful eye, waiting for him. His mother has also been waiting for him at home and scolds him for being away so long. She was worried about him because he had forgotten to take his antipsychotic medicine. When Larung enters the room of his

grandmother, she seems barely alive, and yet she immediately sees and asks what he has around his neck.

After failing once, Larung lays out the magical *cupu* on her body one by one. This time he does not falter until just after he has put the sixth one in place, just a second after he has lost his last chance to regret his actions. At that moment, just before she dies, his grandmother wakes and begins to speak, telling him once again the stories of his traumatic past—stories told by a dying woman in the phantasy of a schizophrenic. First she tells him that he is not the real child of his father, her son. She reminds him that when he was four he had a playmate, a Chinese girl about nine years of age. Her father was a rice seller and a neighbor. He bought rice from the farmers and then sold it at a good mark-up to the army people who, like Larung's father, were stationed in Bali. Larung's father was his friend, so he made money on the deal also. Then it was 1964, she tells him, and Gunung Agung, a major volcano, erupted in Bali, killing many people. The eruption ruined the rice fields, leaving people poor and hungry.[28] Angry, too. One day a crowd of people came down from the mountains. Some said they were communists, says the grandmother, but they were just hungry people. They beat the Chinese rice seller to death and took his rice. Larung never saw his little Chinese friend again. The grandmother retells the stories that Larung had already heard from the old woman. The people came for the man Larung thought was his father. The grandmother did not let them take the rest of the family. The grandmother adds that the neighbors whispered that her daughter-in-law, Larung's mother, was a member of **Gerwani**, the leftist women's organization whose members were accused of mutilating the bodies of the murdered generals before they died on the night of September 30, 1965. The grandmother told the killers and whisperers that her daughter-in-law was not Gerwani, just a mother. If anyone was Gerwani it was she, but they believe she is a witch anyway. Then the grandmother looked out to the sea, and slowly the men went away. Larung hears this story repeatedly in his phantasy: from his mother, from the old woman in the cave, and from his dying grandmother. But he seems unable to assimilate these stories even though new pieces of the puzzle are added in each telling.

Larung owes a debt to his grandmother: she saved his life. Now he has taken hers. And it is not enough just to kill her with the magic he received from her friend. He now searches for kitchen knives and a saw to cut up her body and find the magic pins and pellets that, according to

his mother and long-lived ideas of Javanese magic, were the secret of his grandmother's strength. He performs a macabre operation. He mentions that he had medical training and was once a doctor.[29] He recites what he is doing with clinical precision, cutting and slicing the skin of her stomach and head, the most likely places to look for the magical pins and pellets. At one point he needs a piece of wood to help lift the grandmother's head so that he can operate more effectively. Since no piece of wood is handy, he uses a copy of Soekarno's revolutionary speeches, the nationalist book *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi* (Under the Revolutionary Flag).

> I don't know how long I worked, but I just couldn't find the metal bits or the needles in her stomach. Where could they be hidden if not there? They must be in the head. The magical pins were inserted into the skin in back of her head. Sorry to have to slice up your head. Of course I remember how to do it. (1) Place a wooden block to support the neck. I don't have any wood, but the book *Under the Banner of the Revolution* that is so thick and hard can be used instead. (2) Make a slice around the skull, above the eyebrow and passing through the base of the ear and the occipital protrusion, just like Columbus sailed around the globe. (3) Make a vertical section dividing the middle of the forehead around to the back of the head. The skin over the skull is always thicker than that of other parts of the body, it's like it's braided together with the hair follicles and the rubbery sebaceous glands. (4) Continue the previous longitudinal section downward, dividing the skin of the nose to the upper lip. (5) Make a tear from the tip of the right lip, around the head, passing below the ear, up to the tip of the left lip. (6) Make another vertical section on a line from the edge of the cheek to the ear. (7) Peel off this skin, slowly, from the side of the ear toward the nose. The skin tissue here sticks tightly to the muscles of the face.[30]

Unable to find the evidence he is seeking in her head either, Larung cleans up the bloody mess, puts his grandmother's body parts into two boxes, and buries her in the backyard. Then he washes the sheets. He apologizes to the dead grandmother for not bringing her to the crematorium as he had promised; the condition of the body would have looked too suspicious.[31]

Larung's mother comes home to find what he has done, and she is speechless, sobbing silently. "You horrify me, child. You horrify me."[32] He

simply replies: "No, Mother." This part of Ayu's novel ends after seventy-four pages of psychotic ramblings, macabre hauntings, personal memories, and traumatic histories. The reader is left to wonder: was it all a delusion, a phantasy . . . or a grisly murder?

Even more thought-provoking is why Soekarno's speeches, a potent relic of the past that could have been unearthed and celebrated in the *reformasi* period, have become a headrest in a macabre operation performed by a madman looking for specters of mystical power. As discussed in Chapter 4, Soekarno *was* the nation and the revolution for almost forty years. Tirto's, Soewarsih's, and Pramoedya's worlds were invested in the figure of Soekarno even though Tirto died before Soekarno came into prominence. *Under the Banner of the Revolution* was all that remained of Soekarno's legacy once the New Order came to power. The "people's tongue" (I *lidah rakyat*) is entombed in the two volumes of Soekarno's speeches that still exist, bowdlerized or not. The New Order was devoted to erasing Soekarno's fame and power, cautiously in the late 1960s, but, as the Suharto government gained total control over the nation-state, people were frightened even to have pictures of Soekarno on their walls. In 2003, when Ayu published *Larung,* the New Order had been out of power for more than four years. Soekarno's daughter was the president of Indonesia after Indonesia's fourth president, Abdurrahman Wahid, was forced out of power. Ayu suggests the nation form that Soekarno represented did not survive the madness and oppression of the 1960s and the New Order period that followed.

Trauma and Melancholia

The ambivalence about Larung's paternity, intensified by the stories Larung's grandmother tells before she dies, reverberates through this section of the novel, establishing a theme of missing or estranged fathers and of sons who are failures. Larung cannot integrate the traumas of his youth, the disappearance of the man he thought was his father, or the disappearance of his childhood friend and the murder of her father into his narrative memory. These repressed events manifest themselves in unpredictable and macabre ways. Larung is indebted to his grandmother for saving his life and his mother's life. But he cannot assimilate this debt. The debt is bound up with tradition and hierarchy, and linked to the work of mourning. Larung cannot mourn because he is unable to feel, but his intelligence and,

according to Yasmin, his lack of ambition allow him to work his way into the world of anti–New Order activists. More important, Larung is psychotic, and, in his case, memory and subjectivity have become unhinged.[33] Larung has lost, or perhaps never had, the ability to draw his memories into a coherent narrative.[34] Larung's story illuminates a major problem, alluded to above in the discussion of the nonrepresentability of trauma, in the field of trauma studies today: whether the traumatic memories are available to the victim at all.[35] If memories are not available to the victims of trauma or are unreliable at best, how can such victims testify or give witness to their suffering? If both victims and perpetrators of horrendous crimes are traumatized by those crimes and they cannot put the trauma into narrative memory, the testimonies of both victims and perpetrators become unreliable, rendering ethical considerations fuzzy and problematic.[36] However, if there is a radical separation between "autonomous subjects" and the external trauma that engulfed them—so that questions concerning memory's relation to trauma are not taken into account—this allows questions of blame and responsibility to be posed but situates the traumatized as quintessential victims, both sovereign and passive.[37] For those who would want to see the possibility of agency in even the most abject victims or for those who follow antiessentialist approaches to subjectivity and memory, both interpretations have limits. Ayu creates the character and actions of Larung as one response to trauma. But, in Ayu's novel, this character is the exception rather than the norm. Her other characters also experience suffering, loss, or estrangement, but they maintain a coherent sense of their own identity, even though some will be destroyed along with Larung. Paralleling the phantasies and delusions of the more sympathetic activist hero, Saman, in Ayu's first novel, Larung's actions mimic instrumental reason gone awry. In his delusion, he searches for the needles and pellets in his grandmother's body with medically precise technology, even though he also knows that the old woman's powers are metonymic, ghostly ones. The reader cannot empathize with Larung because his character is not open to understanding by himself or others. He is a mystery to everyone. Like trauma itself, Larung's character cannot be narrated.

Phantoms and secrets also haunt Larung's double, Saman, the hero of the first novel. Saman's mother had a lover from the spirit world when Saman was a small boy, and his family lived in Perabumulih in southern Sumatra. Three younger siblings either disappeared suddenly from his mother's womb in late pregnancy or died mysteriously a few days after

birth. Saman, then named Wisanggeni, could hear his younger siblings crying and could hear the whisperings of the spirit lover, but no one else could.[38] He inherited this ability to hear and occasionally see the phantoms of the spirit world from his mother. Saman was jealous of this spirit lover, but he never revealed his mother's secrets because he loved her. The fates of Saman and Larung converge at the end of *Larung,* and the outcome is tragic. The two men and the three young activists whom Saman and Larung are trying to rescue are all captured by the police because of the human weaknesses of the young activists and the inability of the psychotic Larung to feel empathy. Saman is trapped in this volatile alliance and brought down by it. The commentary on activism presented by Ayu is a conflicted one. Ayu offers a complex understanding of the relationship between agency and activism by showing "activists" as wounded, lacking in faith, psychotic, or incompetent. The group is finally caught because one of the young men calls his brother on his cell phone, and the call is monitored. The last member of the group is the physically maimed farmer-turned-criminal Anson, who is driving the boat hired to take Saman and the activists out of Indonesia. By presenting this collection of ineffective male characters, Ayu suggests the activist men of post-*reformasi* Indonesia are a wounded group. But the women who serve as their supports, if not activists themselves, remain alive, melancholic, yet still capable of action at the end of the novel.

It is the uncanny doubling of the sympathetic Saman into the psychotic Larung that is most disturbing at the end of the second novel. Saman and Larung both suffer from delusions intertwined with the spirit worlds of Sumatra and Java. This connection to the spirit worlds indicates a weakness, a susceptibility to being entered by undesirable spirits or forces—what Couperus called *elmoe*s—that will lead to death and destruction. By linking the two activists to uncanny powers and to the phantoms of Java, Ayu suggests that activists and witches are interchangeable in the *reformasi* period. As Siegel has noted in his explanations of why witches were killed after the fall of the New Order:

> To ask if one is a witch is to say that I cannot put myself in the place that others once placed me. I can no longer see myself as they saw me at an earlier time in my everyday identity. Earlier, I would be able to say "I am not a witch," because I would be unable [to] find in myself the confirmation of my accusers. But under the conditions that prevailed

> during the witch hunt, self-image disappeared, as multiple possibilities of identity thrust themselves forward. "Witch," under that condition, is a name for the incapacity to figure oneself.[39]

If "activist" is substituted for "witch" in Siegel's quote, this passage comes close to the message of Ayu's novels about activism both during and after the New Order: activists are those who are unable to figure themselves or to construct a coherent identity for themselves. They are not sure if they are activists until they are labeled as such by the New Order. Siegel does not believe that scholars or novelists can explain sorcery or trauma in logical or coherent ways without undermining the meaning of these subjects themselves.[40] But Ayu's critical comments on political activism in the *reformasi* period contain ambiguous messages about activism and its connections to sorcery. Saman is a good activist, a priest who works himself to the bone to save the transmigrant villagers of South Sumatra. His hallucinations and attachments to women, both the developmentally and physically impaired sister of his friend Anson and his rich lawyer/activist lover, Yasmin, cause him pain and suffering. But he remains a sympathetic character. Larung is never a sympathetic character since he is introduced in the midst of a psychotic delusion that ends in a gruesome murder. But Ayu says that these two characters, both susceptible to the spirit worlds of Java, Bali, and Sumatra, are not that different, are in fact interchangeable, and their tragic fate is the fate of activists at the end and after the fall of the New Order. They are damaged by the past. They will not find a way to survive in the post–New Order world of Indonesia.

The failed revolutionary postcolonial nation that emerged during Soekarno's Guided Democracy period, and the failure of revolutionary protest or resistance during the violent New Order period that followed it, return again in the *reformasi* period and allow Ayu to present her activist heroes as traumatized failures. Since *Saman* was published just ten days before the New Order fell, Ayu was not able to address the issues of the traumatic past as clearly there as she does in *Larung*. It took courage to publish *Saman* when the book first appeared in 1998 because it addressed the corruption and brutality of the New Order in startlingly explicit terms. However, Ayu's work has been most celebrated for its graphic depictions of female sexuality.[41] As they introduce discussions of sexuality into the public sphere, Ayu's novels have been important to her female readership in Indonesia not only for their representations of upper-class women's

habitual life, but also as symbolic of choices faced by women in Indonesia. But Ayu's work is not only about women's right to a cosmopolitan sexual freedom. Her characterization of Larung exposes the depths of violence, cruelty, and insanity left in the wake of the New Order. The novel *Larung* is a step toward the working out of the traumas of the past, but Ayu does not easily place the origin of these traumas in the colonial period. Ayu's retelling of the Calonarang story locates the traumas of the state in an unspecified moment before "linear time," as Larung's mother names the pre-twentieth-century world.[42]

The most powerful characters in the segment on Larung's phantasmatic scene discussed above are the old widows/witches, Larung's grandmother and her friend in the cave. They have mastered the esoteric black magic, or *elmoe*s, of Java and Bali that allow them to kill and to protect. And they are difficult to kill, as demonstrated by the difficulties Larung encounters as he plans and attempts to murder his grandmother. It is easy to see in these doubled widow grandmothers the weight of "tradition," of the past, of a life and time that is seen nostalgically as both irretrievable and desirable. But, for Larung, the activist witch, the past that his grandmother represents is so threatening that it must be totally destroyed, cut up into little pieces, so that it cannot be available for reconstruction or assimilation. In fact, in the novel that bears his name, Larung defeats almost everyone. He destroys his grandmother, the grandmother's old friend, his mother, eventually Saman and Anson and the three young activists, and, at least emotionally, Yasmin, Saman's married lover. He even bloodies Soekarno's iconic speeches, credited with creating the nation. And he chooses the hour of his death as he did also for his grandmother. It is the inability to assimilate the past and the traumas of that past that turn the men of Ayu's novels into failures. They cannot heal themselves, and they cannot heal the nation. Most tragically, they can be suddenly snatched away and killed, leaving loss and rupture in their wake.[43] Is there an answer or a way to speak to the traumas and problems of Larung and those of his generation?

In her novels Ayu has begun the critical work of integrating Indonesia's phantoms into its national histories. She has also begun the work of integrating feminine voices into national narratives. Whereas the power of the old women may come from their ability to learn the arts of invulnerability, the four young heroines, never much more than wives and mistresses of the male activists, are still exploring their own identities. The women are not weak: Yasmin is part of the underground movement during the New

Order period, and Shakuntala is in control of her sexuality and her life as an artist in New York City. But these women are not yet able to accrue power beyond the fragile power they have as elite women in twenty-first-century Indonesia. Even when the heroines are in New York City visiting Shakuntala, they are there in a group, and it is as a group that they find their power. Only Shakuntala makes new friends, and when the others visit, they could as easily be in Jakarta as New York. These women's loyalties are to each other and to Saman, the wounded, martyred former priest who was their teacher and is now Yasmin's lover.

Melancholia and Sex

Characters like Saman, Larung, and Shakuntala are trapped in their own melancholic worlds because they feel a lack of self-worth that they have inherited from their parents in the form of secrets or phantoms. Freudian melancholia is characterized as an inability to assimilate a loss and then the constant return of the loss through haunting and repetition. But Abraham and Torok's ideas of secrets, crypts, and phantoms are more useful for understanding the scenes and the characters that Ayu creates. Saman carries the phantoms of his mother's spirit lover and her spirit children who take his mother's love away from him. He hides these secrets from his father. Larung carries the phantoms of his grandmother's powers, the repressed knowledge of his confused paternity, and the deaths of those close to him that he witnesses in the mid-1960s. Shakuntala carries the phantoms of a *raksasa* (ogre/demon) lover whom she phantasizes. What are the messages that these secrets and phantoms contain? All the messages revolve around sexual relations. In this sense, sex is the quilting point of these two novels, and Ayu uses sex to quilt over her ideological critiques of New Order repression and violence. But the sexual relationships that Ayu portrays are all disturbed by the traumas inflicted by the New Order.

Laila and Sihar, a married man, have a relationship that is unconsummated and adulterous because Laila wants to preserve her virginity; the relationship exists mainly in Laila's phantasies. Cok has sexual desire that can never be satisfied, and she has numerous overlapping lovers who bring her little joy. Shakuntala's phantasmic lover is a centuries-old Dutch *raksasa*, and she herself has a male identity spawned by her own phantasies. It is this male identity that emerges when Shakuntala has lesbian encounters, a cop-out to some of Ayu's feminist critics.[44] The relationship between

Saman and Yasmin, also adulterous, is the most complex. Their sexual encounters are sadomasochistic, reenacting Saman's torture when he was imprisoned by New Order secret police. But they also reenact Yasmin's phantasies of torturing men because of the ways in which men belittle women and deny their needs. In an e-mail message—Yasmin only uses a first-person voice in her e-mails to Saman—she tells Saman there is a part of her that she has always tried to deny: she wants to see his male body wounded, naked, limp. Yasmin says that what she experiences with Saman astonishes her. He lets her tie him up to the iron bed while she explores his body with her fingers. He lets her hurt him like the secret police did when they tortured him as a spy. He lets her postpone his orgasm and make him suffer a literal *coitus interruptus.* She forgets how long it has been that she has had the desire to hurt a man and see him suffer. Yasmin gives a Freudian interpretation of the anal stage proceeding to the phallic stage when children become obsessed with their sex organs or, in the case of women, their lack of them. She remembers being attracted to a little boy at school when she was in kindergarten and wanting to castrate him or circumcise him. She says when she was little she never associated sex with love, only with roughness, oppression, and pain. Then, as she approached the age of consent, she punished herself for her erotic fantasies as she entered the world of patriarchy. And she denied her subjectivity and allowed herself to become an object of sexual desire.[45] "I lost my subjectivity and saw myself as a [sexual] object. I lost my femininity and became a woman. In a process I didn't understand, I began to see myself as a victim, a woman who is cursed because of her womanhood."[46]

Yasmin then explains masochism to Saman through Deleuze's commentary on Leopold von Sacher-Masoch: in masochism, the superego is chased outside until it becomes part of the external world. In other words, the role of punishment and discipline is projected on another, cut off from one's own ego. At the same time, the superego becomes empty and, taking off from Deleuze, a tyrant. Masochism and humor insult power by transferring oppression into enjoyment. Both are a form of mechanical intelligence to restrain ourselves. But, Yasmin argues, Deleuze and many others only look at masochism in men. They see masochism as a male deviation because of the critical superego, the father figure, and punishment, which all appear outside of the feminine in the patriarchal world. Women are not required or even expected to turn this around—only to allow men to remain dominant—and the strongest form of this attitude

is the taste for sadism of the heterosexual man. What is the difference between the idealization of women's sacrifice, polygamy, and masochism? All of them internalize injustice. Yasmin says that women safeguard themselves by internalizing Indonesian patriarchy, and thus 90 percent of women become masochists. Speaking of herself, she says that she lost the sadism of her youth and became like O in *The Story of O,* a masochist who allows herself to be tortured and degraded. Yasmin complains that her husband is only interested in the physical aspects of sex and not the psychic ones. She also thinks that, because of her reputation as the "good woman and good wife," her husband does not suspect that she would enjoy or desire sexual phantasies. She and Saman are both wounded by the New Order and its prescribed gender roles. Ayu also comments here on the common practice of Indonesian men of taking mistresses or second wives, or going to prostitutes. They do not suspect that their wives, the mothers of their children, could or should enjoy kinky sex.[47]

Other presentations of sexual desires in the novel include Shakuntala's substituting for Sihir, Laila's married boyfriend, to initiate Laila, a thirty-year-old virgin who has never had an orgasm, into knowledge of her sexualized body; the sexuality of Saman's mother with a spirit husband and family; and the sexuality of the mentally and physically disfigured Upi, Anson's sister, who satisfies herself with a pole, an animal, or any human willing to have sex with her. Only Larung, whose paternity is in doubt, and who carries the secrets of his grandmother who ran off with a Dutchman in the early years of the twentieth century, is uninterested in sex—even Cok cannot get him to sleep with her. The theme of rape is threaded throughout both of the novels but appears most frequently in *Saman:* the rape of Upi, the rape and murder of various women by the Texcoil oil-rig manager Rosano, the vivid description of the rape of Anson's wife and of other women from Anson's village by New Order thugs. The last words in the novel *Saman* are Saman's pleading with Yasmin, in an e-mail message, to rape him. Rape, which often ended in murder, was a common tool that the New Order used to humiliate, demasculinize, and depress men and women. At the end of *Larung,* Saman confuses Yasmin with his mother in his phantasies. In his foreboding dreams, through processes of displacement and condensation, his mother/lover is missing.

The only answer to these sexual abuses and deviancies that Ayu presents is the bonding of the four women friends in *Saman* and *Larung.* In their fluid and overlapping subjectivity, represented in the novels by their

overlapping and intertwined voices and movements, there is a promise of a future feminist agency and power that would not be activist in a masculinist sense but would seek to find collective rather than individualistic ways to answer the problems of the postcolonial nation. The women survive at the end of *Larung,* but they are damaged and depressed. In her newer work Ayu offers a more active vision for the future of Indonesia and its activists.

Critical Spirituality and a Critical Path

> What he [Parang Jati] said was much deeper than a joke. Later I [Yuda] understood that this is what he meant by a "critical attitude." This attitude accompanies a "critical path." This is an attitude that can believe in something while deferring it at the same time. It's an attitude that tolerates bearing, shouldering, that deferral. The deferral of truth. People desire truth today, now. It's too bad that truth is not here today, even though we must believe in it every day. If truth showed itself today, there would also be arrogance. A critical path tolerates that arrogance. It bears this heavy burden so that truth will not fall to earth and incarnate today.
>
> *Kindness will do for today. Not truth.*[48]

In her ambitious 530-page novel *Bilangan Fu* (The Fu Numeral), Ayu makes a departure from her first two novels: the setting is rural, the novel ambles through Java's past, rock climbing is as much a focus as is political correctness, and Ayu appears committed to teaching those who read her books how to think critically. If Freudian discourse was evident in *Saman* and *Larung,* Freudian words and ideas are also of major importance in this book. The Oedipus complex is explored at great length through Javanese and Sundanese tellings of incest myths, the stories of Watugunung and Sangkuriang. How does the Oedipus story, an ancient Greek myth given new meanings by Freud in the fin-de-siècle period, translate into Indonesian stories told today? Watugunung and Sangkuriang are "Oedipal" stories, but they have very different resonances in Java and Sunda, where personal tragic flaws were rarely the point of the tales. Ayu does introduce a Freudian Oedipus story in which a father wants to castrate his adopted son, an allusion to the biblical story of Abraham's test of his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac to show his faith in God. In Ayu's novel the son does not resist his father because he does not believe

an adoptive son has a right to an Oedipus complex. An adopted son owes his father everything. The Oedipal is deferred but returns later when the son sleeps with his adoptive father's young wife in response to his repressed anger at his father, his budding sexuality, and the willingness of the wife, who is also repressed and angry, and mute. The husband forces his mute wife and his twelve-fingered and twelve-toed adopted son to act out the Sangkuriang characters as part of a "freak show" that they and ten other so-called deformed characters must perform for village audiences. Words that have become associated with Freudian discourse, like "libido," "phantasy," "melancholy," "trauma," "hysteria," "schizophrenia," "sublimation," and "the unconscious," regularly appear in the book.

In her new work Ayu comes close to Laplanche's method for the detranslation and retranslation of enigmatic messages, discussed in the introduction to this book, in her rethinking of Indonesian Oedipal stories and their interactions with Freudian ideas that carry out the work of afterwardsness. Freud's ideas can change the ways in which Indonesian readers understand their myths, and Javanese and Sundanese incest stories can change the way in which Indonesians and Indonesianists understand Freud. Ayu presents twists on the stories that make them her own: Parang Jati, the adopted son, interprets the Oedipus story—and Ayu equates Watugunung, Sangkuriang, and Oedipus—as a story of men trying to get back into their mothers' wombs; the adoptive father *asks* his son if he can castrate him, and the son is too stunned by the request to even reply; and, in the quasi-incest scene, there is a voyeur, a third person.[49] This voyeur is of particular interest because, in Laplanche's reinterpretation and retranslation of *Nachträglichkeit,* he focuses on a third person, in his example a wet-nurse, who shifts the attention away from what had been a story of two moments in the life of one person. I return to this third person in the Afterword. Through her retranslations of Indonesian myths, Ayu gives feminist retranslations of masculinist Freudian discourse.[50]

This Freudian discourse is also part of Ayu's attempt to enrich the Indonesian language by circulating foreign ideas and giving them Indonesian translations. Ayu points to the ways in which Freud's ideas continue to serve as a transnational discourse of desire. Ayu's style of writing has always emphasized a search for the right word, and readers—Indonesian and foreign—find her vocabulary challenging. *Bilangan Fu* is more accessible than *Larung,* in fact, and perhaps the success of her earlier work has freed her to reach out to broader audiences. The large novel, in

both length and thematic richness, is spawning twelve shorter novels—a so-called mystery series—one of which has already been published: *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa* (Manjali and Cakrabirawa, 2010). Ayu returns to her fascination with the ancient mythical character Manjali, whose story was introduced in *Larung.* The Bilangan Fu series, based on the characters from the large first volume, targets a wider audience than its source novel. There is no lack of sex, one of Ayu's trademarks, in *Bilangan Fu,* but, even more than sex, a theme of voyeurism permeates the novel, perhaps part of Ayu's strong critique of Indonesia's new antipornography laws, where the state is always watching. A harsh version of this new law passed in 2006 and was followed by a modified but still harsh version in 2008.[51]

Bilangan Fu also is concerned with numerals, especially the numeral of the novel's title: the figure looks like a tightly coiled spiral circle and is supposedly a whole number between one and zero. The book offers critical discussions of numerical systems based on ten and twelve, and one of the three heroes of the book, Parang Jati (I/J for "teak machete"), was born with twelve fingers and toes, as noted above. There is also the "freak show," organized by Parang Jati's father, a wealthy mystic and leader of a syncretic spiritual sect whose members are supposed to be mute when near their guide and teacher. In addition, the novel explores heredity versus environment; *homo floresiensis;* religious syncretism versus monotheism; modernity, premodernity, and postmodernity; instrumental reason versus critical reason; and the radicalization of students who study abroad. But amidst all these timely topics, the plot focuses on the killings of the *dukun santet,* or sorcerers, that took place in East Java in 1998 around the time of the fall of the New Order government. These are the same killings that led Siegel to rethink his ideas on witches and trauma.[52] The connections among these killings, the Indonesian military and police, monotheism, syncretism, fanaticism, and local beliefs form the core of the book.

In order to annoy Parang Jati, Yuda, the second member of the book's love triangle and narrator of the book, makes love to his nineteen-year-old girlfriend, Marja, and forces Parang Jati to wait outside the room and listen. Thus the reader meets Parang Jati and Marja at almost the same time. Rather than titillating, the relationship between these three characters is a poignant one: both Yuda and Marja seem to fall in love with Parang Jati, the beautiful fallen angel with nymphlike (I/J *bidadari*) eyes. Jealousy does not appear, but phantasies bloom. Yuda and Marja both phantasize about Parang Jati, and Yuda seems unsure whether he is phantasizing about

Marja making love to Parang Jati or he himself is doing so. If Parang Jati is a twenty-four-year-old angel, then Yuda—and the connection to Judas is intentional—is presented as a twenty-one-year-old cynical devil. He calls himself a rock climber and a gambler. Yuda's devilish side is only hinted at in *Bilangan Fu* and does not clearly appear until the first book of the Bilangan Fu series, *Manjali and Cakrabirawa.* In the series, Marja becomes the narrator, but she is not a first-person narrator as Yuda is in *Bilangan Fu* the novel.

Ayu deals with phantoms and phantasies in *Saman* and *Larung,* but in *Bilangan Fu* and *Manjali and Cakrabirawa* she differentiates more clearly between the two. In these newer novels, she offers a methodology of critical spirituality to articulate how the New Order, the military, and power (I *kekuasaan*) in general use phantasies and the phantasmatic scenes they enable to scare the people, intimidate them, and, when necessary, incite them to violence. Yet Ayu does not want to ignore or erase the phantoms of the past that haunt the archives: the phantoms and traumas of 1965–1966 and the ethnic killings that took place after 1998, when Suharto was forced to step down. In *Manjali and Cakrabirawa,* Ayu introduces First Lieutenant Musa Wanara, a military man and an orphan who does not know that his father was a member of Soekarno's Cakrabirawa elite military guard or that his mother was a member of Gerwani, the pre-1965 women's organization associated with the Communist Party. Musa Wanara befriends Yuda, who, without telling his politically correct best friend, Parang Jati, teaches groups of elite military men the skills of rock climbing. Musa has some remnants from his unknown father, one being a piece of paper with "Cakrabirawa" written on it. Musa knows that Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the instigator of the first military coup in 1965, where six generals and one adjutant were rounded up and killed, was a member of the Cakrabirawa guard.[53] But Musa confuses the Cakrabirawa guard, rightly or wrongly associated with the Indonesian Communist Party, and the mystical knowledge of **Cakrabirawa,** or Bhairawa Cakra, that is supposed to confer occult power on the person who possesses the mantra.[54] Cakrabirawa has many resonances in Indonesia today. It may have become tainted by its association with Untung and the September 30th Movement, but a famous statue of the Hindu-Buddhist Bhairava (I/J Bhairawa) is the centerpiece of the National Museum in Jakarta. The statue, which dates from the fourteenth century, is over twelve feet tall and could stand as a symbol of the religious syncretism that Pramoedya

saw as the source of Java's weakness and Ayu sees as the source of Java's strength. In Musa Wanara's attempt to steal the Bhairawa Cakra artifact that has been uncovered by Parang Jati and an archaeological team in the novel, Musa is injured and falls into a coma. The Bhairawa Cakra artifact falls deep into a hole as if lost forever. As he regains his memory, Musa Wanara will also gain the knowledge of his parentage. In what is presented as a meaningful coincidence, Parang Jati and Marja find Ibu Murni, a former Gerwani woman, and Musa Wanara turns out to be her long lost son. Ayu suggests that all Indonesians are the orphans of 1965–1966, of Cakrabirawa and Gerwani, and they too must participate in a long process of regaining their memories and acknowledging themselves as children of their newly recognized and damaged parents. This, perhaps, is Ayu's version of the neurotic family narrative.

Ayu develops "critical spirituality" to prevent the people, both university students like her three heroes and ordinary folk, from being mystified and duped by superstition and ghosts—like the Bhairawa Cakra mantra—while allowing them to continue to follow local beliefs that respect nature and Java's spirit guardians. As Ayu explains critical spirituality (I *spiritualisme kritis*), she has to explain what it is not.

> It is not a spiritual belief [I *aliran kepercayaan*]. It's actually a critical path [I *laku kritik*]. It's an attitude of critical spirituality. It's critical of truth that is offered by every religion. This critical attitude is not necessarily skeptical. A person with critical spirituality does not have to doubt truth. She or he can have faith. But such a person is also aware that truth is always postponed. God is always a mystery.[55]

Ayu also explains, through the politically correct Parang Jati in a conversation with the cynic Yuda, why truth must always be postponed.

> Kindness alone can be realized today. Truth you must bear on your shoulders so that it doesn't fall to earth and touch the ground, show itself, today. If truth incarnates today, it becomes power.
>
> But you can't just throw truth away like something without value. If you do that, you will become an arrogant person and stubborn too.
>
> You, one more time, must bear truth so that it doesn't touch the ground and become power.
>
> Do you understand? I don't think so.[56]

Understanding Ayu's conceptions of critical spirituality and postponed truth is a complex process that unfolds and continues to unfold in her Bilangan Fu series. Not only is there critical thinking and a critical path involved, but also a need to separate many dichotomies that Ayu believes became confused owing to the lack of critical thinking in education during the New Order period. Through her work Ayu, like Pramoedya before her, has taken upon herself a major task: reacquainting Indonesians with their history, teaching them to think critically, and, for Ayu in particular, enriching Indonesian as a literary language. During the New Order, words and images were designified and resignified in order to keep Indonesians from learning about their past.[57] Ayu explains this process clearly in *Manjali and Cakrabirawa:*

> After thirty years where slander and fantasies were spun in blood, it definitely won't be easy for Musa Wanara to accept that his father was Cakrabirawa and his mother was Gerwani. To be able to accept this deep within, he would have to change his view of Indonesian history. He would have to free himself from the prison of state indoctrination that has said that this is a war between hallowed Pancasila and despicable communism. It's a war between good and evil even though neither has a clear form. Everything with form also has original sin. Because of that no one is innocent. The PKI is not innocent. The military regime is not innocent either. Let us not see history as a struggle between the armies of Satan and the angels. *Let us see human beings.*[58]

The New Order spun its version of history through the schools, the media, and its bloody wars against its own people in Aceh and East Timor after the 1965–1967 violence. Like Michael Taussig in the epigraph about the need to demythologize history that opens this chapter, Ayu recognizes the difficulty and the necessity to undo these phantasies and phantoms of the Indonesian past. She also recognizes that it will take a very long time.

AFTERWORD

Trauma, Translation, and a Critical Path

> We invariably find that a memory is repressed which has only become a trauma *after the event.* (Freud, *Project for a Scientific Psychology,* in *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*)
>
> Here is the heart of the argument: we try to track down the trauma, but the traumatic memory was only secondarily traumatic: we never manage to fix the traumatic event historically. This fact might be illustrated by the image of a Heisenberg-like "relation of indeterminacy": in situating the trauma, one cannot appreciate its traumatic impact, and *vice versa.* (Jean Laplanche, *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis,* commenting on above quote from Freud)

Trauma, translation, and a critical path succinctly capture the moment in time where this book ends. The theme of trauma has haunted this book, and the various chapters have attempted to unravel the workings of trauma in the history of the twentieth-century colonial Indies and the postcolonial state of Indonesia through reading literatures as situated testimonies of the past. Colonial modernity has given way to new imperial formations in the twenty-first century. Indonesia's politics of global location have moved clearly away from the Dutch world and into Islamic, East and Southeast Asian, and American circulations of power, people, media, and commodities. Indonesia can itself be seen as an imperial formation where Java and its capital, Jakarta, are seen to dominate a heterogeneous state made up of myriad islands, ethnic groups, religious affiliations, and political ideologies. The ethnic violence that followed the fall of the New

Order dictatorship in 1998 and the separation of East Timor—now Timor Leste—from the Indonesian state in 1999 has subsided temporarily, but ethnic and religious tensions could flare up at any time. Islamic practices, tastes, styles, and entertainments position Indonesia ever more firmly in global Islamic networks even as Islamic political parties have not fared well in recent Indonesian elections. The public sphere in Indonesia is vibrant today, more vibrant possibly than at any time since the early twentieth century. But conservative right-wing activists use antipornography arguments in their attempts to close down this public sphere. This is something that Ayu Utami and her fellow artists and writers see as a major threat to Indonesia's future.

Ayu offers female bonding as a hope for the future of the nation. Pramoedya offers an empty suitcase of nationalist dreams. At the end of the *Buru Quartet,* although Minke's writings supposedly travel to Europe, the suitcase of dreams stays in the Indies. Pramoedya suggests that there is hope for the nation but that hope can only be transmitted orally and held in memory. The works of Pramoedya and Ayu offer different interpretations of trauma and memory and contribute in different ways to the transnational discourse of psychoanalysis and the debates current in the field of trauma theory.

Pramoedya's and Ayu's Contributions to Trauma Theory Debates

As explained in the Introduction, versions of trauma theory rely on two models of memory that have existed for over a century and that originate in Pierre Janet's work from late-nineteenth-century France. Declarative memory records what people are aware of doing. It is accessible and able to be narrated. Procedural memory includes memories that people are not aware of in declarative memory: these memories are involuntary, reflexive, and held intact in the body; they are not able to be narrated, and they often include actions that are learned as a very young child before declarative memory is fully developed.

The **mimetic model of trauma** relies heavily on the notion of declarative memory. It sees the traumatic experience as fragmented, nonlinear, and imitative. There is possible collusion between the victim and the persecutor. The subject could have agency, but the subject is disassociated.

The **antimimetic model of trauma**, relying more on the idea of procedural memory, argues that the traumatic event comes entirely from the outside to an autonomous and whole subject. There is a complete record of the traumatic event, but it is not accessible. There is no collusion between victim and persecutor. The subject has no agency and is entirely passive. The antimimetic model sees trauma as existing in procedural, bodily memory.

Today neurobiologists suggest that traumatic experiences are more likely to be preserved intact in procedural memory. There is a complete imprint, but it is not accessible to declarative memory. Thus, this theory overlaps with the antimimetic model of trauma, where the traumatic memory of the outside event is also not available. But, the antimimetic model suggests that both victims and perpetrators are victims of trauma "in ways that tend to eliminate the issue of moral meaning and ethical assessment."[1] The antimimetic model also lacks Freud's stress on *Nachträglichkeit,* the interaction between two events at two different times in the subject's life, because the antimimetic theorists see the traumatic event coming entirely from outside. There can be a delay in the subject's experience of trauma, as is frequently the case with those who suffer from Post–Traumatic Stress Disorder, but most neurobiologists do not associate the trauma with early childhood sexual experiences, or any autobiographical moments, or the later and traumatized awareness of those experiences after adolescence.

So how do Pramoedya's and Ayu's characters fit into these debates? Pramoedya first presents the antimimetic model where trauma comes to his autonomous subject Minke from the outside. But his character Pangemanann is forced to go against his ideals and beliefs, and, once he gets the taste of power, something inside of him responds to that power and causes him to give up everything he has worked for all his life. He gives up his children, his wife, his morals, and finally his health, both physical and mental. Pangemanann colludes with the colonial government and imitates his tormentors. In contrast, Minke gives up nothing, neither in prison nor in the short time in the novel between his release from prison and his death. Minke remains the coherent enlightenment subject; he never compromises or colludes with his enemies. Although Minke and Pangemanann could both be suffering from trauma in Pramoedya's work, they keep their ability to narrate their traumatic pasts through inscribing them. These inscriptions, Pramoedya suggests, may not have had a safe home in the Dutch Indies or in New Order Indonesia. Pramoedya himself

kept his sanity while in the Buru prison camp by first narrating and then inscribing his memories. Minke's manuscripts were stolen from him in *House of Glass,* Pramoedya's novels that became the *Buru Quartet* had to be smuggled out of the camp, and they came to have a life outside of Indonesia until the fall of the New Order in 1998, when they were finally allowed to be sold and read openly in Indonesia. But also like Minke, Pramoedya was able to carry his ideas of the nation in his head, in memory. He narrated these memories to his fellow prisoners through oral storytelling. Pramoedya also kept records of the prisoners, where they were from, when and how they died, so that they would not be erased from history.

Pramoedya's character Nyai can be seen as a typical Freudian subject. She has a sexual experience when she is fourteen that returns to haunt her life. She has sex with the man who buys her, and she comes to love and respect him. Her trauma begins when she finds out, slowly, that everything she believed he stood for was a lie. Nyai tells of this betrayal to anyone who will listen, even as she is being dragged out of the Dutch court. Nyai's beloved daughter, Annalies, is the most traumatized of Pramoedya's characters. She is raped by her brother as a young girl and this trauma or secret eventually destroys her. After she is separated from Minke and Nyai, the two people she loves, she loses her will to live and dies. Although Nyai and Annalies are writers, they are not writers in the sense that Minke and Pangemanann are: they do not narrate their lives in writing. It seems clear that Pramoedya, like many intellectuals in Indonesia, was influenced by discourses of trauma and psychoanalysis in his *Quartet.* Dr. Martinet, who is an important character in the first two novels of the quartet, uses psychoanalytical discourse in his treatment and analysis of Annalies' traumatic rape. Pangemanann at one point complains that there are no psychiatrists in the Indies in 1918.

I have suggested that Ayu's work is influenced by discourses of trauma and psychoanalysis. I also see Ayu's work contributing in interesting ways to the debates of trauma theory related above. Ayu presents characters that are not able to create coherent narratives about their pasts. Larung is unknown to himself and others, even to his own mother, who is horrified by his actions. His narrations are confused, filled with phantasmatic scenes. They confuse instrumental and critical reason, leaving only trauma and phantoms. Even the good activist/witch Saman is unable to narrate his past clearly. He does not know himself very well. He intertwines phantasies of his mother and his lover. He chooses to relive his torture through his

sexual relations. Ayu presents trauma as an experience that cannot be communicated in words and one that the victims repeat. Pramoedya and Ayu interpret the victims of trauma in different ways: Minke remains a victim, but he cannot narrate his trauma because he does not recognize it. Larung has agency to choose the hour of his death and his grandmother's death, but he cannot narrate or understand his trauma. Pramoedya interprets Pangemanann's trauma as an experience that can be recorded in declarative memory, while Ayu's novels see trauma situated in procedural or traumatic memory and not available to declarative memory. Pramoedya offers a masculinist hope for the future that sees enlightenment reason, both instrumental and critical, as possibilities that for the present remain locked in a space like the Lacanian **Real**. Ayu has, in certain ways, abandoned reason and turned to the spirit world of Java, where she puts forward ideas of melancholic bonding and critical spirituality. Ayu's work accords with Laplanche's method of detranslation and retranslation to offer hope for the future. But that future is not now.

Translation

> The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect [Intention] upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original. (Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator")

This book has shown that translation can be a larger process than movement between two languages or even two cultures. Benjamin looked for echoes of the original in a translation, echoes that were not information. These echoes become enchanted *elmoe*s in the work of Couperus and remain phantoms and phantasies that haunt the past and the future of Holland and Indonesia. Scholars and creative writers must search for and retranslate the *points de capiton,* the quilting or anchoring points that keep the phantoms and phantasies from being discovered or understood. This book has sought to undo the quilting process that keeps ideologies from clashing and secrets from being revealed. If revealed, those secrets can disrupt the long-held beliefs of individuals, the ideological state apparatuses, including archives, where secrets are kept, and the repressive state apparatuses where the people are coerced. It is the ability of someone like Tirto, and also of Pramoedya's fictional re-creation of Tirto, to see the places

where ideologies clash that makes him such a threat to the colonial state. And people like Tirto/Minke continue to haunt the Pangemananns who would destroy them.

I began with a study of an effeminate Central Javanese male hero created by Maria Dermoût, who lived in the Dutch Indies for thirty years. Soeprapto is an elite man: educated and sensitive, he still feels he lacks almost everything that he desires even though he stands at the top of his social class and ethnic world. Soeprapto desires recognition from his family, from his Dutch employers and rulers, and, eventually, from the bumbling and kindly Professor who manages to awaken Soeprapto's repressed feelings. It is early in the second decade of the twentieth century, and Soeprapto has no thoughts about a nation, his nation, any nation, even though Dermoût created Soeprapto after the birth of Indonesia, after the Dutch had lost the Indies forever. The truth claims that Soeprapto as a fictional character represent concern colonial phantasies and racial hatreds, but also possibilities for change.

Around the same time that the fictional Soeprapto begins to change, the historical character Tirto Adhi Soerjo is also changing. He is from central Java, but of lower social status than the fictional Soeprapto. Tirto's status is just high enough to allow him to acquire a Dutch-language education and just low enough to allow him to see his social and ethnic class as subjugated by the Dutch. Although Tirto is a historical character, less is known about his life and loves, his needs and desires than about the fictional Soeprapto. Tirto also wants recognition from Javanese and Dutch elites, and he works hard to get recognition. He almost succeeds in getting what he needs until the Governor General who had protected him leaves the Indies. Then his life unravels, and exile and erasure are his fate.

Louis Couperus created another fictional young man, living around the turn of the century in Holland. This young man knows little of the Indies except that he hates its affects and its effects on his family. The Indies made his family neurotic and he had to become a psychoanalyst to cure them of their mental instabilities, their susceptibilities to seeing phantoms and phantasms of their colonial collaborations and crimes. Abraham and Torok have theorized the phantoms and their tombs, carried from generation to generation, working with or without words to bring unresolved or unacceptable memories from the past into the future. They have also suggested ways to loosen the hold of these phantoms, through incremental truth-telling. Laplanche sees these phantoms as enigmatic

messages needing to be detranslated and retranslated in order to come to terms with the present, rather than the past or the future. Couperus' characters, even though they have never been to the Indies, are still affected by its *elmoe*s, or black magic. Thus the young Dr. Adriaan carries around enigmatic messages and phantoms. Even in his journalistic travel writing, Couperus fixates on the *elmoe*s and their power to disrupt and disturb the lives of Europeans. He does not worry about the Indies people, but the *elmoe*s resurface in the work of Soewarsih and Ayu. Retranslation and incremental truth-telling may be ways to let the phantoms of the past out of their crypts.

Forty years after Couperus, Armijn Pané created another fictional medical doctor who is also repressed and does not know his desires. Dr. Tono is surrounded by women with sexual secrets, some of which he never discovers. Dr. Tono's wife, Tini, can only tell her secret, the secret that haunts her life, to another fallen woman. Society is repressive for elite women who must keep their virginity intact until they make a good marriage. For elite women who fail at marriage, they can join the people, the folk, and try to support themselves, but they may have sexual freedoms denied to their supposedly more successful sisters. Women in the 1930s could not move with the freedom of Ayu's four heroines, even though the similarities between the women's desires and phantoms are sometimes surprising. Ayu's heroine Laila is almost as obsessed with her virginity as was Tini in *Shackles,* and even Laila's friend Yasmin becomes promiscuous only after she has successfully secured her respectable man. Armijn's characters have secrets but no families; Ayu's characters have families who have infected them with enigmatic messages that continue to haunt them. Although Soewarsih wrote at the same time as Armijn, her female characters seem more similar to Ayu's than to Armijn's. They also have families and phantoms. Soewarsih's character Lastri, like Ayu's women, is haunted by sexual desires. She comes close to being a fallen woman and then pulls back because of her family and the restrictions that bourgeois society placed on female behavior at that time. Today fundamentalist forms of Islam and Christianity are placing new restrictions on women's bodies, behaviors, and fashions even as the influences of global popular culture bombard Indonesian youth with images of sexual emancipation. The novels of these authors move back and forth in time, showing the workings of afterwardsness.

Afterwardsness

Laplanche gives an example to illustrate his rethinking of afterwardsness. He says that Freud used to tell an anecdote to explain his use of the idea *Nachträglichkeit.* It concerned a young man who saw a picture of himself being suckled as a baby by an attractive young woman. The young man was regretful that he did not realize the attractiveness of the woman at the time. Freud focuses on two different moments in the life of the young man to illustrate the change in sexual awareness after puberty. But Laplanche argues that what Freud left out was the third person: the young wet-nurse and her bodily pleasures and enigmatic messages. This subaltern figure and her desires were left out of Indonesian histories written by Dutch and other non-Indonesian scholars for most of the twentieth century.

Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* can be taken as an example of the workings of afterwardsness for historical writing. Because of Indonesia's tragedy of the mid-1960s, instead of writing Tirto's story as "history," Pramoedya wrote the story as fiction. He used the story to keep up the hopes of his fellow male prisoners on Buru Island. He embellished Tirto's tale with beautiful *njai* characters, beautiful Eurasian women, and beautiful Chinese and Japanese women who appeared in the archive of newspapers Pramoedya had been reading with his students in Jakarta in the 1950s and 1960s. Pramoedya winds up writing the story of Tirto in the popular Indonesian language of the people, as his hero Tirto did. Pramoedya creates Tirto as Indonesia's first national hero because Tirto was the first Native, possibly because of his periods of exile, to conceptualize the nation as a mixture of all the peoples of the Indies, not just the Javanese. He saw Malay, Javanese, Balinese, Ambonese, Sumatran, Chinese, and Eurasian peoples as part of an Indies state of "subjected peoples" (*bangsa-bangsa yang terperintah*).

Pramoedya rewrites the history of Indonesia through his stories of Tirto/Minke. Before the publication of the *Buru Quartet*, "Indonesian" history had been told by the Dutch and other Euro-Americans. Pramoedya changes the history of Indonesia through fiction. If we reread Pramoedya's epigraph in the Introduction, stating his belief that fiction could change history, and then, if we go back to our Laplanche story of Freudian afterwardsness, we can begin to reidentify the characters in Freud's story: the baby is the doubled Tirto/Pram being suckled by the wet-nurse, the grown up man is the doubled Tirto/Pram again, and the wet-nurse is the subaltern woman/*rakyat*/*nyai* who nurtures the hero and helps him to retranslate her

enigmatic messages and intrusive intimacies into a vision of the nation-in-waiting. The hero comes to consciousness through this nurturing and turns the people into the nation. Pramoedya, like Tirto, is traumatized by the possibility of his erasure from history. Tirto died in ignominy after his third exile from Java, and he was lost to history until the work of Pramoedya brought him back to life. Pramoedya identified with Tirto, his exile, and his wrongful persecution by the state. Little is known of the circumstances of Tirto's death in 1918, but Pramoedya writes about Tirto's death in detail through his narrative of Minke in the *Buru Quartet.*

Through Pramoedya's rescue and retranslation of Tirto's story, he reinvigorates his own literary career. Pramoedya also rewrites the history of the Indonesian National Awakening, as he calls it, rescuing Indonesian history from the hands of Dutch, Australian, and other Euro-American scholars. It is Pramoedya's rewriting of Indonesian history that is accepted and taught today in many U.S. Indonesian studies classes. Tirto plays a large role in this rewriting of Indonesian history. Tirto was unable to narrate his own story after his exile in 1913 to Ambon, an eastern island of the Dutch Indies. Pramoedya was unable to narrate the story of Minke's exile before his own exile to Buru. This is a story of afterwardsness. Although Tirto/Minke's story came first, it cannot be narrated until after Pramoedya's exile, until Pramoedya lived through what Tirto lived through. We have the vision of Tirto and Pramoedya forever retranslating the messages of their youth, trying to get the nation—and their role in it—right. In the last book of the *Buru Quartet,* discussed in Chapter 5, Pramoedya introduces a new narrator, a colonial collaborator raised to the level of the Algemeene Secretariat, the highest body of colonial advisors to the Governor General. This character is Pramoedya's vision of the Dutch scholar and Advisor for Native Affairs Rinkes, who, some scholars today argue, brought Tirto down. But Pramoedya makes this character a Native, a French-educated Native police commissioner from Manado with European status like Minke.

The question Pramoedya leaves hanging for his readers, one addressed by many of Pramoedya's commentators—is one of authorship. Who is the narrator of the quartet: Minke/Tirto, the Manadonese policeman, Nyai Ontosoroh—who supposedly takes the manuscripts to France—Pramoedya himself, or, as Hilmar Farid and Max Lane have recently argued, the community of prisoners on Buru Island? There is no answer to this question other than the continuing circulation and editing of the

books. Does this allow for any Indonesian to become an author of the nation? Or does it suggest that, as with Pramoedya on Buru, the books are authored, edited, and reedited by many people? This again recapitulates Laplanche's notion of rewriting-retranslating the intrusive intimacies/messages of the past. If there were an author of the Indonesian nation, that author could only be Soekarno, who kept the nationalist dream alive for more than forty years, who created Indonesia with his words. But the image or phantasm of Soekarno was bigger than the man. The man was only human.

This book has offered ways to understand how characters like Ayu's Saman and Parang Jati relate to their predecessors Soeprapto and Minke through their attachments or nonattachments to the nation form. But it is more difficult to see a clear trajectory of female desires moving from the past into the future. Soewarsih's character Lastri exists in a mental world not very different from that of Ayu's heroines of sixty years later, and all these women have a different connection to the nation than the men. The women authors from the Indies or Indonesia keep pulling their readers away from the masculinist dreams of the nation. The nation form has to make way for children, sex, love, and desires that are not always Oedipal. Echoes and *elmoe*s exist both before and after the national dream has dimmed, and traces of sexual desires move, like Laplanche's rethinking of *Nachträglichkeit,* from past to future and from future to past. Although Soewarsih's late-1930s character Lastri may not act on her sexual phantasies, she still has them, and they preoccupy her thoughts. These sexual phantasies are passed down through transgenerational hauntings, and they disturb the time and space of the nation. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Couperus was worried about the *elmoe*s, the black magic that could trouble the Dutch. Ninety years later, Ayu is worried about the same black magic having a negative influence on Indonesia's postcolonial subjects. *Saman* and *Larung* are exemplary in mapping the messages sent from mothers, in particular, to sons and daughters with and without words. These intrusive intimacies cannot be easily, if ever, erased. The *Indonesian* subject did not come into focus in the work of Dermoût and Couperus. But that subject was the third person who was watching the activities of the Dutch at different moments in time. Now Ayu is trying to find a way to speak to that emerging subject, a subject still in process. In her latest work, Ayu shows how a nineteen-year-old art student can use her different ways of seeing to outdo her slightly older male teacher/lover in solving

mysteries of the traumatized past. Like Pramoedya, who encouraged the men in the camps on Buru Island with his stories of the beautiful and talented village girl Nyai Ontosoroh, Ayu shows that a nineteen-year-old, taught by someone with knowledge and humility, can begin the work of healing Indonesia's past. There is much more in Ayu's new novels that this book only touches on. Separating the phantoms to be mourned from the phantasies to be undone is the work of Ayu's critical path.

Writing Histories of Indonesia

In 1978 Edward Said published *Orientalism,* in 1983 Benedict Anderson published *Imagined Communities*, and in 1984 Don Emmerson published the essay " 'Southeast Asia': What's in a Name?" Nations and whole regions became imaginary overnight as the bloom of ideas of autonomous history was beginning to fade under the shadow of Indonesia's New Order regime and the New Order's narration of history. *Orientalism* had revealed the implication of area studies in imperial and orientalist thinking, changing the field of Indonesian studies, and area studies in general, forever. By the 1990s, in the wake of the linguistic turn and the currency of poststructuralist and postcolonial theories, there was nostalgia for the work of the old orientalists who actually knew things, although they were romantics, as area studies scholars were fleeing from the empiricists and rational choice people. By reviving Tirto, Pramoedya was able to incorporate the missing "native" into the picture, fulfilling J. C. van Leur's dream and John Smail's expansion of that dream into the idea of writing "autonomous or domestic history," history from the perspective of the "native." But this could only be done through literature. The New Order government shut down the writing of history in Indonesia, allowing the field to be dominated by outsiders in the United States, Australia, and Europe. Indonesian literatures and performances of the middle New Order period were considered to be isolated from the needs of society. Plays and novels featured either a shriek or a silence, both for those who did and for those who did not write engaged literature. The engaged literature of Pramoedya or Rendra was banned, and the absurdist literature by writers like Putu Wijaya failed to find large audiences in Indonesia. By the 1980s and 1990s, Pramoedya was read outside of Indonesia, and, by the late 1990s, the *sastra wangi*, fragrant literature, women writers used sex as their quilting point to cover up their critiques of politics, power, and patriarchy.[2] Ayu Utami's work

is, to me, the most interesting and challenging of this group. Her critique came before the New Order fell. Her work is dark and tortured, showing the damage the New Order wrought and the failures of the Indonesian nation's masculinist activism.

Ayu killed the dreams of a nation-in-waiting of Pramoedya and Tirto, as the failures of Abdurrachman Wahid (Gus Dur) and *reformasi* killed the dreams of an earlier generation of foreign scholars of Indonesia who came into prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. As Pramoedya says enigmatically in a quote on the back cover of early editions of *Saman:* if he persevered in reading the book and trying to understand what Ayu was saying, he would feel as if he were a political prisoner again.[3] Ayu's newest works offer complex answers for Indonesia's future that echo the intentions of Pramoedya's work: to teach critical thinking to the masses. This message is more radical than that of the Dutch ethicists, the revolutionary fighters, or the parliamentarians. Ayu uses feminist, poststructuralist, and psychoanalytical criticism to formulate her ideas of critical spiritualism and critical thinking. Thus the voices of subaltern men and women—not Ayu herself but those she writes about—who were missing from Indies and Indonesian histories are being heard more frequently and more clearly today. There is hope that some are listening to their enigmatic messages and bearing the burdens of their intrusive intimacies.

Notes

Preface

1 What I call the Vietnam-American Wars includes the wars that spread into Cambodia and Laos as the fighting in Vietnam was dying down.

Introduction: The Afterwardsness of History

1 The word "Native" (D *Inlander*) was a legal category in the twentieth-century Dutch East Indies. I use it here as it was used at the time.
2 Foreign and specialized terms as well as psychoanalytical terms such as "afterwardsness" that appear in bold when they are first explained in the book are defined in the glossary.
3 Drawing on Donna Haraway's conceptualization of "situated knowledges," I first introduced the idea of "situated testimonies" as a historical methodology in "Reading Ayu Utami: Notes Toward a Study of Trauma and the Archive in Indonesia," *Indonesia* 83 (2007): 17–40. I expanded on it in "Modernity and Decadence in *Fin-de-Siècle* Fiction of the Dutch Empire," *Indonesia* 90 (2010): 97–124. See Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–599.
4 For example, Carolyn Hamilton et al., eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).
5 Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973).
6 Jean Laplanche, *Essays on Otherness,* ed. John Fletcher (New York: Routledge, 1999), 260–265.
7 See Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 3–8, for a discussion of this history. Freud's writings today serve as reference points among scholars working in the field of trauma studies even though his work has come to be seen as an idiosyncratic approach to questions of trauma and memory, and Freud's own life experiences, dreams, and interpretations serve as a source of inspiration for literary analysis as well as psychoanalytical study. Extended critiques of Freud's work are common. Some of the most important ones, both admiring and highly critical, are found in the works of Peter Gay, Nicholas Rand and Maria Torok, the early and later work of Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, and the works of Jacques Derrida and Gilles Deleuze

and Félix Guattari. There is also a host of feminist critiques that date back to the early twentieth century, including the work of Helene Deutsch, Karen Horney, and Melanie Klein; these feminist critiques continue today in the work of Nancy Chodorow, Jane Flax, Juliet Mitchell, Jacqueline Rose, Kaja Silverman, and many others.

8 For a sampling of these works, see Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Georgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz* (New York: Zone Books, 2002); Leys, *Trauma;* as well as Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). See also Tani Barlow and Brian Hammer, eds., "War Capital Trauma," special issue, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 16, no. 1 (2008).

9 Dori Laub, "Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening," in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History,* by Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub (New York: Routledge, 1992), 69. See also the commentary on Laub's essay by Thomas Trezise, "Between History and Psychoanalysis: A Case Study in the Reception of Holocaust Survivor Testimony," *History and Memory* 20, no. 1 (2008): 7–47, and Laub's excellent response, "On Holocaust Testimony and Its 'Reception' within Its Own Frame, as a Process in Its Own Right: A Response to 'Between History and Psychoanalysis' by Thomas Trezise," *History and Memory* 21, no. 1 (2009): 127–150.

10 Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," In *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 160.

11 See Paul Antze, "The Other Inside: Memory as Metaphor in Psychoanalysis," in *Regimes of Memory,* ed. Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London: Routledge, 2003), 98–99.

12 LaCapra, *Writing History,* 186.

13 Jean Laplanche, "Time and the Other," in *Essays on Otherness,* 254.

14 Laub, "On Holocaust Testimony and Its 'Reception,'" 139, 140. My emphasis. Laub raises important questions of memory in his work, but these questions are outside the scope of this book.

15 My thanks go to Carlo Bonura, who has helped me to work through these ideas of trauma and representation.

16 See Carolyn Hamilton et al., introduction to *Refiguring the Archive,* ed. Hamilton et al., 9, as well as the rest of the essays in the book. For work on archives see, among others, Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), and Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

17 For new work on Southeast Asian archival constructions from a librarian's point of view, see Judith Henchy, "Disciplining Knowledge: Representing Resources for Southeast Asian Studies in the Libraries of the U.S. Academy," in *Knowing Southeast Asian Subjects,* ed. Laurie J. Sears (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

18 Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive,* ed. Hamilton et al., 24.

19 See, for example, Nova Riyanti Yusuf, *Mahadewa, Mahadewi* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2003), or even Dee's (Dewi Lestari) *Supernova* novels (Bandung: Truedee Books, 2001) for works that explore Freudian and psychoanalytic themes. Freudian ideas appeared in writings of Indonesian intellectuals by the second decade of the twentieth century. See, for example, Laurie J. Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), chapter 3, and see also Chapter 2 in this volume. Ann Laura Stoler's important discussion of the implications of the thought of Freud and Foucault for work on colonial sources is found in *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), chapter 6.

20 For essays on psychiatry in the Indies before World War II, see Hans Pols' two essays "The Nature of the Native Mind: Contested Views of Dutch Colonial Psychiatrists in the Former Dutch East Indies," in *Psychiatry and Empire,* ed. Sloan Mahone and Megan Vaughan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), and "The Development of Psychiatry in Indonesia: From Colonial to Modern Times," *International Review of Psychiatry* 18, no. 4 (2006): 363–370. For recent work on the rise of Freud and his ideas to prominence through suppression of the work of others, see the controversial new book by Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen and Sonu Shamdasani, *The Freud Files: An Inquiry into the History of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

21 For Abraham and Torok, these gaps are connected to secrets and repressed memories. If there are too many gaps and secrets, the result can lead to melancholia, a state of clinical depression. I use the spelling "phantasy" to include elements of the English "fantasy," the French *fantaisie* and *fantasme,* and the German *Phantasie,* which was the word originally used by Freud. In their dictionary of Freudian terms, Laplanche and Pontalis chose the French *fantasme* over the French *fantaisie* even though *fantaisie* corresponds quite closely to the German *Phantasie,* both of which mean imagination rather than phantasy per se. But, as Lapalanche and Pontalis explain, Freud never intended to separate the daydream quality of phantasy from its connections with the deepest recesses of the unconscious. It is this shift between *Phantasie* and *fantasme* that allows scholars to connect the English fantasy/phantasy to the idea of the

phantasm and the phantasmatic. Both "phantasm" and "phantasmatic" have to do with the structuring of phantasies, the placement of subjects within those phantasies, and, as Laplanche and Pontalis explain, the key idea that phantasy is the setting rather than the object of desire. See Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis,* vol. 1, ed. and trans. Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 171.

22 See Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), especially 22–23 and notes 48–49 for an important discussion of phantasms, *Nachträglichkeit,* and events.

23 See, for example, Anne Anlin Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), especially chapter 4; Ranjana Khanna, *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); and Maria Sarita See, "An Open Wound: Colonial Melancholia and Contemporary Filipino/American Texts," in *Vestiges of War 1899–1999: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream,* ed. Angel Shaw and Luis Francia (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 376–400.

24 The literature on enchantment is vast, and this is an arbitrary and selective list. Key works include Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin Books, 1976), book 1, part 1; Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Random House, 1989); Max Weber's important arguments concerning a demagicked world in his famous essay "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 129–156. See also Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern,* trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Nicholas Gane, *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory: Rationalization versus Re-enchantment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Also see the many books of Michael Taussig on commodities and terror and, on sorcery, James Siegel, *Naming the Witch* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). This slippage among enchantment, modernity, commodities, fetish, and sorcery is intentional.

25 I thank Muge Salmaner, who brought this film to my attention through her graduate work on the Armenian genocide at the University of Washington.

26 Information, quotes, and paraphrases of Egoyan come from Atom Egoyan's *Ararat: The Shooting Script* (New York: Newmarket Press, 2002), ix,

and Egoyan's commentary track in *Ararat: Collector's Edition* (Montreal: Serendipity Point Films/EGO Film Arts, 2002).

27 Egoyan, *Ararat: The Shooting Script,* xii.

28 See, for example, the works of Hayden White, Michel de Certeau, Dominick LaCapra, and Paul Ricoeur. Derrida and Foucault are key figures in this endeavor. More recently, anthropologists have been at work deconstructing historical narratives. For a useful selection see Brian Keith Axel, ed., *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), especially the essays by Nicholas B. Dirks and Ann L. Stoler.

29 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 50.

30 For more on this process, see Michael Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 138 and passim.

31 The idea of the "anchoring point" (*point de capiton,* or "upholstery button") comes from Jacques Lacan, who sees it as a loop or hook that stops meaning from sliding between a signifier and its signified. For more on Lacan's *point de capiton,* see Chapter 3.

32 I heard Hilmar Farid present his ideas on Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* at the fifth annual meeting of the International Convention of Asia Scholars in Kuala Lumpur in August 2007. Farid is working on an extensive biography of Pramoedya. For a listing of bibliographical works on Pramoedya as well as copies of many of Pramoedya's essays as well as essays about him, see the excellent Web archive Prampage, http://sites.google.com/site/pramoedyasite/home, built and maintained by Alex Bardsley. See also Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Menggelinding I,* ed. Astuti Ananta Toer (Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2004), for the first volume of Pramoedya's collected prose, poetry, essays, and fragmentary writings, 1947–1957. For a succinct bibliography of the major outlines of Pramoedya's life until he was released from the New Order gulag of Buru Island, see Benedict Anderson, trans. and ed., "Perburuan 1950 and Keluarga Gerilya 1950," *Indonesia* 36 (1983): 25–48, epecially p. 43.

33 Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 395.

34 Siegel, *Naming the Witch,* 202.

Chapter 1: Desire, Phantoms, and Commodities

1 See Abraham and Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel.* Whereas Freud speaks of repression as a dynamic process, Abraham and Torok see repression as preservative (see p. 18 and n. 13).

2 This methodology is part of what Abraham calls *anasemia,* an analytical tool for unencrypting the meaning that inheres in incoherences, discontinuities, and disturbances of self, reality, object, meaning, the present, or the past (ibid., 76–77).

3 Stewart, *On Longing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 24–25. In Chapter 3 I explore the idea of novelistic gaps suturing readers into nationalist ideologies.

4 See Nicholas Rand, "Family Romance or Family History? Psychoanalysis and Dramatic Invention in Nicolas Abraham's 'The Phantom of Hamlet,'" *Diacritics* 18, no. 4 (1988): 20–30. See also Frantz Fanon's reinterpretation of the family romance in the last chapter of *Wretched of the Earth,* where Fanon seems to build upon Freud's model to outline the stages of development he posits for nationalist consciousness. Freud's idea of the family romance is discussed below in Chapter 3.

5 See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967); Homi Bhabha's idea of mimicry in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2005), 121–130, and his distinction between the pedagogical and the performative in the constitution of the postcolonial nation, 199–244.

6 Tani Barlow, ed., introduction to *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

7 Although Dutch ships first arrived in the Indies in the very late sixteenth century and their trading company lasted for two hundred years, the Dutch government's colonial project did not secure itself in the Indies until after the British Interregnum of 1811–1816 and the Java War of 1825–1830. From 1830 until 1910 the Dutch moved out from their base on the northwestern tip of Java to form what have become the boundaries of Indonesia today.

8 For "imperial formations," see Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue, eds., *Imperial Formations* (Sante Fe: SAR Press, 2007), especially the introduction. For more on the formation of imperial fields, see J. Francisco B. Benitez and Laurie J. Sears, "Passionate Attachments to Area Studies and Asian American Studies: Subjectivity and Diaspora in the Transpacific," in *Transpacific Studies: Interventions and Intersections,* ed. Janet Hoskins and Viet Nguyen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, forthcoming).

9 These ideas come from discussions with my colleague Francisco Benitez.

10 The term Native, or *Inlander* (D), was a legal term in the Dutch Indies from the very end of the nineteenth century until the end of colonial rule. The term separated the local inhabitants of the Indies from the Europeans, the highest status category that included Europeans and Eurasians as well as Japanese by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, and from the middle status of *vreemde oosterlingen* (foreign orientals),

which included Chinese, Arabs, non-European Jews, Indians, and certain mixed-race peoples. I will use the term with a capital "N" throughout this chapter and book when it refers to this legal status. Tirto Adhi Soerjo (1875?–1918), discussed in Chapter 2, used the words *priboemi* and *anak negeri,* both of which translate as "native," interchangeably with the Dutch word *inlander.*

11 Maria Dermoût, *Nog pas gisteren* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1964); translated by Hans Koningsberger as *Yesterday* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959). In his first translation of Dermoût's work, Koningsberger (later shortened to Koning) stayed quite close to the Dutch text, but I have modified the title to *Only Yesterday,* which, I think, better captures the Dutch title. Dermoût, *De tienduizend dingen,* 9th ed. (Amsterdam: Querido, 1991); translated by Hans Koning as *The Ten Thousand Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984). Koning's English translation is beautifully written, and Dermoût was very pleased with it, but Koning makes changes in chapter organization and naming, and leaves out many passages, often those he felt were too scholarly or difficult for an American audience. I will use Koning's translation, but I will add back in the passages he has left out. These will appear in italics in quotations from Koning's translation. The original Dutch passages are drawn from *De tienduizend dingen* because this edition, the ninth, like the sixth edition, uses the original punctuation of Dermoût. The Dutch text in her collected work, Dermoût, *Verzameld werk,* ed. Kester Freriks (Amsterdam: Querido, 1990), does not use the original punctuation. For Dermoût's reactions to Koning's translation, see Kester Freriks, *Geheim Indië: Het leven van Maria Dermoût 1888–1962* (Amsterdam: Querido, 2000), 278, 285.

12 I suggest below that, like the work of many writers, all of Dermoût's work is semi-autobiographical. This seems to me to be a question that historians ask of literature as a way of defining literature's "truth-value." I suggest here that Dermout's subjectivity is scattered through her various works so as to disguise it from herself and her readers. On Dermoût's work as autobiographical, see note 23 below.

13 See Johan van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût: De vrouw en de schrijfster* (s'Gravenhage: Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1973), 236.

14 See, for example, van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût;* Rob Niewenhuys, *De Oost-Indische Spiegel* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1972); Guus Houtzager, *Het-een-én-het-ander* (Leiden: Dimensie, Stichting voor Letterkundige en Wettenschappelijke Uitgaven, 1991), and Houtzager, "Maria Dermoût's *De tienduizend dingen:* Technisch raffinement, tovenarij en taoisme," *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 2 (1986): 67–88; Subagio Sastrowardoyo, *Sastra Hindia Belanda dan Kita* (Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka, 1983), chapter 6; and and E. M. Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures: Dutch Colonial Literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 473–499.

15 See the important work of Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Preliminary Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981). Salmon is credited with finding and incorporating hundreds of Chinese Malay texts into the field of Indonesian literature. Other important works include Hendrik Maier, *We Are Playing Relatives* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004), and James T. Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), for different expansions of the field.

16 See, for example, Theo D'haen, ed., *Weerwerk: Schrijven en Terugschrijven in Koloniale en Postkoloniale Literaturen,* Semaian 15 (Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1996), and various essays in the Dutch literary journal *Indische Letteren;* Niewenhuys, *De Oost-Indische;* and Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures.* The idea of seeing the Indies Letters as one example of Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a "minor literature" comes from conversations with Henk Maier and from the methodology used by Beekman in his *Troubled Pleasures,* where he compares the Indies Letters to the regional literature of the early-twentieth-century American South.

17 See M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin,* ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 84–258, for his extensive meditation on the chronotope. He notes on p. 84: "Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history."

18 For more on Dermoût's narrative technique of repetition, see Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 480.

19 The term "secondary orality" is Walter Ong's from *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), where he uses it to discuss oral forms and traditions that have been processed through technology.

20 See H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 99, where he speaks of repetition as a trademark of modernist texts and gives four examples: Joyce's novels *Ulysses* (1922) and *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) as well as Woolf's *To the Lighthouse,* Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past,* and Forster's *Passage to India.* He suggests that these texts all use repetition to get away from the linearity of previous novels.

21 Walter Benjamin's observations on the move from cult value to exhibition value in the empty time of modernity are another way to understand the transformation of Dermoût's magical objects into commodities for display; see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 217–251. Benjamin argued that

objects that were part of landscapes also had auras (pp. 222–223), but he did not address the display collections of such objects that were both fetishized and commodified in this essay. For more on the commodity fetish in Southeast Asia, see Patricia Spyer, ed., *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 1998), especially the introduction by Spyer, the afterword by William Pietz, and "Marx's Coat" by Peter Stallybrass.

22 For more on the collection, see Stewart, *On Longing,* 151-169.

23 van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 73. See also Kester Freriks, "Afterword," in *De tienduizend dingen,* by Maria Dermoût (Amsterdam: Querido, 1991), 246–255, where he argues that Dermoût never regarded the Indies as a conquered colonial country, and Freriks, *Geheim Indië,* 329–333, where he speaks of the nonpolitical quality of her work. Cf. Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), chapter 5, where Norindr makes a similar argument for the work of Marguerite Duras, despite her denials that she avoided political theories in her many novels of French Indochina.

24 See van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût;* Leo Vissers, *De harpe amoret: Een studie over de verhalencyclus "De Tienduizend Dingen" van Maria Dermoût,* 2nd ed. (Roosendaal: De Goudvis, 1995); Freriks, *Geheim Indië;* and Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures* and *A Different Magic: What a Naturalist Taught a Novelist* (Pasadena: Mitra Publications Group, 2001). Most rely heavily on the biography of van der Woude, who knew Dermoût well and helped her to publish her work. An exceptional work is Maria de Bruyn Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij: Brieven en teksten van Maria Dermoût," *Bzzlletin* 13, no. 127 (1985): 22–45. Ouboter-Kist is Dermoût's granddaughter, and this long article contains many citations from Dermoût's secret *dagboek* (diary). I will refer to this material below. On the diary, see Kester Freriks, "Tienduizend dingen zijn onvervuld gebeleven: Het allergeheimste dagboek van Maria Dermoût," *De parelduiker* 4, no. 5 (1999): 2–13. For a search for historical facts in her work, see P. M. H. Groen, "Ten Thousand Things and a Jeweled Hair-Comb as Historical Sources: Fiction or Fact?" in *Papers of the Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference,* ed. Taufik Abdullah (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986), 2:87–123.

25 Hilda van Neck Yoder, "'So That It Will Not Happen All Over Again': Narrative Technique in Maria Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things,*" in William Z. Shetter and Inge Van der Cruysse, eds., *Contemporary Explorations in the Culture of the Low Countries* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1996), 309–320. See also Houtzager, *Het een-én-het-ander,* 55, where he calls for feminist readings of Dermoût's work as well as readings that bring attention to the racism of the time; and Els Bogaerts,

"De invloed van de Javaanse literatuur op het werk van Maria Dermoût: De *Babad Tanah Jawi,* het verhaal van Oyi en de Zuidzee," in *Indische literatuur* (Makalah Kongres Studi Belanda, Depok, Indonesia: Fakultas Sastra Universitas), 275–292, which refreshingly draws attention to Dermoût's use of Indonesian written sources, albeit translated into Dutch, in her work. Hendrik M. J. Maier, "'Indische Literatuur': Bezinningen op een definitie" in D'haen, *Weerwerk,* calls for a reconsideration of Dermoût and the field of Indies "literature" as a whole; see especially pp. 21–25 and 29. See also Mieke Bal, "Wilde dieren, of de verscheurde eenheid: Over 'De sirenen' van Maria Dermoût," with Ernstjan van Alphen, in *Over verhalen gesproken* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1982), 97–124, for another innovative analysis of one of Dermoût's short stories, "The Sirens." Translated as "The Song of the Sirens, or the Narrative of Disjunction" in Mieke Bal, *On Story-Telling: Essays in Narratology,* ed. David Jobling (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1991), 242–262. Bal and van Alphen give a Freudian/Lacanian reading of the shipmate's relationship to the woman as a pre-Oedipal mother figure who makes it impossible for her son to enter the symbolic order.

26 A significant part of Dermoût's oeuvre has been translated into English. In addition to her two novels, mentioned above, eight of her short stories were translated by James Brockway and appeared in *Harper's Bazaar* in the 1960s. See *Verzameld werk,* 680–681, for a list of these translations. Two of these stories, "The Sirens" and "The Bracelet," were cotranslated by Brockway and Dermoût's daughter Ettie Kist-Dermoût. A ninth story, "The Cannon," appears in *Memory and Agony: Dutch Stories from Indonesia,* collected Rob Nieuwenhuys, trans. Adrienne Dixon (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979).

27 Cf. Hilda van Neck Yoder, who uses her style of metonymic reading to highlight the "power of omission," where characters pass on knowledge without it having to be spoken, either because it is so obvious or so dangerous. Yoder also suggests that this is knowledge that everyone wishes to forget, like the knowledge of colonial oppression and torture. See Yoder, "'So That It,'" 310.

28 de Bruyn Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 23–24, and cf. van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 74–75.

29 Rob Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies: A History of Dutch Colonial Literature,* ed. E. M. Beekman, trans. Frans van Rosevelt (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 255.

30 Dermoût, *Yesterday,* 118.

31 Ibid., 3.

32 Ibid., 61–62.

33 Ibid., 72–73.

34 Ibid., 73–74.

35 The situation among sugar plantations in Java was very different from the rubber plantations of north Sumatra, although Javanese workers were employed in both places. See Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain,* especially chapter 6, for a discussion of the treatment of the Chinese and other local rubber workers. See also Jan Breman, *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and the Colonial Order in Southeast Asia* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1989). For fictional descriptions of the rubber plantations, see Madelon H. Lulofs, *Coolie: 'If Allah has ordained it thus . . . ?'* trans. G. J. Renier and Irene Clephane (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1982), and Madelon Székely-Lulofs, *Rubber,* trans. G. J. Renier and Irene Clephane (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988).

36 Dermoût, *Yesterday,* 80.

37 Ibid., 115–116.

38 Dermoût herself was said to have been unhappily married to an ambitious man who eventually rose to the position of president of the Raad van Justitie (Council of Justice) in 1925 and president of the Hooggerechtshof (High Court of Justice) and the Hoog Militair Gerechtshof (High Military Court of Justice) of Batavia in 1930. By 1933, because of his failing health, I. J. Dermoût had resigned his positions in Batavia, and he and his wife returned to Den Haag after twenty-five years of their adult life spent mostly in Java and Ambon, never to see the Indies again. Dermoût's love for the Indies—the land, the people, the culture and history—was not shared by her husband. I. J. Dermoût considered the Indies an *apenland,* a "land of monkeys." From 1910 to 1914, Dermoût and her husband lived on the small island of Ambon in the eastern part of the Dutch Indies. As a colonial administrator, Dermoût's husband had to travel to many nearby islands also under his jurisdiction, leaving her free to explore Ambon and study the history of the island. Biographical data on Dermoût's married life was drawn from Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 24; Freriks, *Geheim Indië,* 188–89; van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 35–45, and Rob Nieuwenhuys, personal communications to author, March 5, 1997.

39 See, for example, Vissers, *Harpe amoret,* 16.

40 See G. E. Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche rariteitkamer* (Amsterdam: Francois Halma, 1705), translated by E. M. Beekman as *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), and Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche kruidboek,* 7 vols. (Amsterdam, Den Haag, and Utrecht, 1741–1755); and Beekman, *A Different Magic.*

41 As mentioned above, Dermoût's own son died of dysentery in a Japanese concentration camp in 1945 at the age of thirty-five.

42 Dermoût, *Ten Thousand,* 188–189. I have added, in italics, deleted words and phrases from the Dutch original.

43 Ibid., 179; "Toch was het niet een vrouwelijke sierlijkheid die in hem uitgedrukt stond, maar een stakgetrokken verfijning van eeuwen lang, buiten mannelijkheid of vrouwelijkheid om" (Dermoût, *Tienduizend Dingen,* 180).

44 Soeprapto often calls the Professor "Prikkebeen" (spindle leg), and Dermoût even gives the character a sister named Ursula. Mijnheer Prikkebeen comes from a famous German comic strip by Rodolphe Töpffer that was translated into Dutch verse by J. J. A. Goeverneur in the mid-nineteenth century. Goeverneur supposedly took as his original Julius Kell's 1847 German version of Töpffer's work. Prikkebeen and his sister Ursula had humorous and fantastic adventures that made the stories beloved by children into the 1980s. It is considered one of the first Dutch comic strips. See Frans van Rosevelt, "The Character of Professor McNeil in Maria Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things,*" *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): 38–41. See also J. J. A. Goeverneur, *Reizen en avonturen van mijnheer Prikkebeen: Eene wonderbaarlijke en kluchtige historie* (Groningen: Erven C. M. van Bolhuis Hoitsema, 2004), http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/goev001reiz01_01/, for pictures of the character Prikkebeen with his hat and his butterfly net, trying to escape his sister Ursula and flee to America.

45 For good examples of this scholarly view of upper-class Javanese men, see Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 227–338, and Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in *Language and Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 17–77.

46 This discussion of the Professor's bodily fluids and his homoerotic desires was developed through conversations with Professor Giovanni Vitiello, scholar of Chinese literature at the University of Hawai'i, in Leiden in March and April of 1997.

47 Rob Nieuwenhuys told me (personal communication, March 5, 1997) that the Professor was modeled after someone for whom Dermoût cared very much.

48 The story comes from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Indies preacher and civil servant François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2002). For Dermoût's reading of his work and her feelings about his plagiarizing from Rumphius, see Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 140, 144 n. 67.

49 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 196. The translation of *wij van de geest* as "we of the spirit" rather than "we of the mind," as Koning has it in his translation, was suggested to me by Benedict Anderson in March 1997 at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, when I presented an early draft of ideas for this chapter. Anderson was pointing toward the Hegelian sense of *Geist* that would have been prevalent in Europe before

World War II. Carlo Bonura commented on the Hegelian foundations of colonialism when he read a draft of this chapter in spring 2010. Bonura sees Soeprapto's desire to be a pupil as the perfect intersection of Hegelian and psychoanalytic desire.

50 See Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 481, where he comments on the exceptional fact that so much of Dermoût's work focuses on Indies as well as European characters and that many of her stories have only Indies characters in them. See also Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 27, where Ouboter-Kist explains that Dermoût thought that her story of the Professor was her best piece of work because the characters of Soeprapto and the Professor were so well developed. Ouboter-Kist adds that the theme of racial conflict that Dermoût presents in this story also appears in the stories "Toetie" and "De Prinses van het eiland" from the book *Donker van uiterlijk* [Dark in Appearance] (Amsterdam: Querido, 1965). Cf. Houtzager, *Het-een-én-het-ander,* 76; Houtzager sees the character of Soeprapto as a lens through which to better see the character of the Professor.

51 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 201.

52 Ibid., 216.

53 See Dermoût's short story "The Sirens" (De sirenen) in *Verzameld werk,* 437–446, and the penetrating analysis of this story by Mieke Bal, "The Song of the Sirens," mentioned in note 25 above, including a translation of "The Sirens." In this story another man finds a watery grave where he will be visited by animals, in this case the sea-cows, or manatees, that Dermoût compares to the Homeric Sirens.

54 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 224; "Het deed hem voor een kort ogenblik een onmenselijke pijn," Dermoût, *De tienduizend dingen,* 226.

55 See Vissers, *Harpe amoret,* 72, which speaks of Soeprapto as a member of the Javanese nobility with a lowly position in the Dutch bureaucracy and argues that it is more a question of colonial politics than racial discrimination. He says that the Dutch administration saw even the high-born Natives as a threat to Dutch colonial power. This is why Soeprapto feels a loss of self-esteem in his job as a clerk in Bogor.

56 For the classic Dutch novel on the mistreatment of poor Javanese villagers by Javanese rulers, see Multatuli, *Max Havelaar: or, The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company,* ed. and trans. Roy Edwards (New York: London House and Maxwell, 1967). Written in 1860 by Eduard Douwes Dekker, a former Dutch colonial administrator whose pseudonym was Multatuli, the work was considered to be a true story of Dutch and Javanese administrative corruption and collusion at the expense of poor Javanese.

57 The Fanonian interpretation here was inspired by my colleague Carlo Bonura. See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), especially chapter 4.

58 Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 483.

59 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 148.
60 I have modified Koning's translation. Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 153; *De tienduizend dingen,* 152.
61 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 162. In the Dutch original, *De tienduizend dingen,* 161, this passage is in the passive voice: Constance would lie on the mat and let herself be rubbed by Pauline. The quotes around the word "rub," *wrijven,* are in the Dutch original.
62 "When the ten thousand things have been seen in their unity, we return to the beginning and remain where we have always been." See note 40 above for citations of Rumphius' work.
63 This recitation of the mnemonic story is three times as long in the Dutch original. See Dermoût, *De tienduizend dingen,* 92–95. Rumphius wrote his books in Latin, but Felicia feels the Latin names would be too difficult for Himpies to remember.
64 Stewart, *On Longing,* 163.
65 See Benjamin, "The Work of Art," 217–252.
66 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 101. In his translation, Koning also leaves out all the references to "Lord Jesus" that appear often in the novel in connection with the local beliefs of the Island. I have added this one back in. Many of the local people of the Island are Christian.
67 Yoder, " 'So That It,' " 312.
68 Ibid., 312–314.
69 Nicolas Abraham, "Notes on the Phantom: A Complement to Freud's Metapsychology," in Abraham and Torok, *Shell and Kernel,* 174.
70 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 99, 104.
71 The Dutch *lust, begeerte,* and *verlangen* are close to the German *Lust, Begierde,* and *Verlangen.* The German *Sehnsucht* does not have an exact Dutch counterpart, although *zucht* is also a Dutch word for desire. See also Houtzager, *Het een-én-het-ander,* 27.
72 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 67–68.
73 Ibid., 81–83. Dermoût's ellipsis. Some commentators see these words as Dermoût's commentary on her relationship with Aldert Brouwer. They were destined to be together only fleetingly in their lives. See Vissers, *Harpe amoret,* 6.
74 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 86.
75 Ibid., 84–86.
76 Ibid., 135–138. See Patricia Spyer, *The Memory of Trade: Modernity's Entanglements on an Eastern Indonesian Island* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), chapters 1 and 4, where she discusses the pearl trade in the Aru Islands that began in the 1890s and flourished in the twentieth century. Spyer traces the circulation of the pearls as both fetish and commodity, along with the spirit sea-wives the pearl divers must have and their beliefs surrounding debts and treasures.

77 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 145, 141.

78 Cf. Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 494.

79 " '—wij zijn nooit enkel en alleen vermoord, we zijn altijd gesneuveld—word nu niet boos, want zo is het, heus, het-een-én-het-ander, mijn lieve moeder!' dat had hij nooit tevoren tegen haard gezegd—" (Dermoût's punctuation). Dermoût, *De tienduizend dingen,* 239.

80 Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 245. Vissers talks about Dermoût's relationship with her son Hans, which was greatly disturbed in 1936 because her husband did not like the woman Hans wanted to marry (*Harpe amoret,* 10). Her husband refused to go to the marriage ceremony and took Dermoût away to Italy three days before the wedding. Vissers suggests this left deep wounds. Dermoût felt it was not right but had to follow her husband. Hans went to the Indies and had two children and then split up with his wife and remarried in 1941. The former wife and the two children and Hans himself were interned in different Japanese camps during World War II. The former wife and the children survived, but Dermoût never saw her son again. See also Freriks, *Geheim Indië,* 188–189, where he discusses the letter Dermoût wrote to her son's widow to ask forgiveness. Cf. van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 129, and Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 128; Ouboter-Kist quotes a letter from Dermoût to her friend Irma Silver where she discusses expressing her feelings about her son's death in the death of Himpies. Thus, in a Freudian reading of the novel's ending, Freud's idea of "secondary revision," the imposition of narrative on dream fragments, allows Dermoût to find closure in her relationship with her son. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 526–546.

81 Abraham and Torok, *Shell and Kernel,* 172.

82 See Fritjof Tichelman, "Early Emancipation and Ethnic Relations on Java," in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer: 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year,* ed. B. B. Hering (Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995), 211–232. "Except for a tiny group which on principle opted for Indonesian independence, the great majority of the Eurasians without strong ties with Holland remained staunch supporters of Dutch supremacy until the very end. Thereafter they were no longer useful and became a burden. . . . Java might be regarded as a mixture between a 'settler's colony' and an 'exploitation colony' with the attendant problems of both types" (p. 223). See also Martin J. Murray, *The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Indochina (1870–1940)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 32–36, for Tichelman's distinctions between settler colonies and exploitation colonies.

83 A rough estimate of the number of "Europeans" in the Indies in 1930 is 240,000 out of a total indigenous population of 59 million. These figures come from the *Volkstelling* (Dutch Census) of 1930 as cited in Kees

Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia, 1600–1950: A History of Language Policy,* trans. Myra Scholz (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 302–303. Figures are very difficult to determine for the number of Europeans since over half of those counted as Europeans were Indos, those of mixed-blood with European status. A classic source is A. van Marle, "De groep der Europeanen in Nederlands-Indië: Iets over ontstaan en groei," *Indonesië* 5 (1955), no. 2: 77–121, no. 3: 314–341, and no. 5: 481–507. See also Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 169–170.

84 Freriks, *Geheim Indië,* 281. Cf. van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 74–75; Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 480.

85 Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 24, from a small autobiography Dermoût sent to her publisher, Alice von Eugen, on April 2, 1951.

86 See Taylor, *The Social World,* for the classic work on these interracial marriages from the late seventeenth century until the 1930s and Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), for questions of race and racial attitudes in Europe and the Indies. See also Gerard Termorshuizen, "Les Eurasiens dan la littérature des Indes Néerlandaises: Portrait d'un préjugé racial," in *Rêver l'Asie: Exotisme et littérature coloniale aux Indes, en Indochine et en Insulinde,* ed. Denys Lombard et al. (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993), 321–333, and Francis Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), especially chapter 5, for other important views on this topic.

87 For more on Baron van Asbek and the *Stuw,* a Dutch journal published in Batavia until 1933, see Rudolf Mrázek, *Sjahrir: Politics and Exile in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1994), 290–292.

88 Ouboter-Kist, "Hart van mij," 32. Ouboter-Kist does not give the exact date of this letter but mentions that it was written after the publication of Dermoût's book *De kist* in 1951.

89 Yoder, " 'So That It,' " 318.

90 Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 52–75, and "Mimetic Subjects: Engendering Race at the Edge of Empire," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (1995): 127–149. Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Empire of Love* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 13, 228. Povinelli's arguments on the double-bind politics of cultural recognition build on earlier insights of Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in *Multiculturalism,* ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 25–73.

91 See, for example, Dermoût, *The Ten Thousand,* 100, where the grandmother talks with Felicia about her servant and friend Sarah, who taught her the beliefs of the Island.
92 Yoder, "'So That It,'" 316.
93 Abraham and Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel,* 189.

Chapter 2: At Home and Not at Home in Empire

1 Danilyn Rutherford, "Unpacking a National Heroine," *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 23–40, n. 62, draws attention to Louis Couperus' own translation of *stille kracht* as "quiet strength" from his introduction to the first English translation of Raden Adjeng Kartini, *Letters of a Javanese Princess,* trans. Agnes Louise Symmers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964; originally published as *Voor duisternis tot licht: Gedachten over en voor het Javaansche volk* ['s-Gravenhage: "Luctor et Emergo," 1912]).
2 For biographical information about Couperus in English, see Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 253–291, and in Dutch see, among others, Frédéric Bastet's lengthy and detailed *Louis Couperus: Een biografie* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987). See also the Dutch Web site http://www.louiscouperus.nl for listings of novels, correspondences, reviews in both Dutch and English, and works by and about Couperus.
3 Top Naeff et al., eds., "Bij de verzamelde werken van Louis Couperus," in *Over Louis Couperus* (Amsterdam: De Samenwerkende Uitgevers, 1952), 5–9.
4 Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 255. Baudelaire was also a "decadent" writer. See page 258, where Beekman notes: "He [Couperus] was caricatured by his numerous detractors as an effeminate fop who was neurotically obsessed with 'unwholesome' aspects of life, ranging from erotic debauchery to effete snobbery." See also George C. Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), where Schoolfield devotes a chapter on Holland to Couperus, one on England to Oscar Wilde, one on Sweden to August Strindberg, and one on Austria to Rainer Maria Rilke, among others.
5 Melancholia is a psychoanalytical term for clinical depression. In the late nineteenth century, Elizabeth of Austria, wife of the Habsburg Emperor Franz Joseph, remained the famous melancholic icon of the age, especially after the suicide/murder of the crown prince, Rudolf, and his lover. See Frederic Morton, *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888–1889* (New York: Penguin, 1980); and Edward Crankshaw, *The Fall of the House of Habsburg* (New York: Penguin, 1983). The idea of melancholia is explored in this chapter.
6 For the story of how Freud catapulted himself to the center of this new field, see Borch-Jacobsen and Shamdasani, *The Freud Files.* Classic texts in the

field of psychoanalysis and colonialism include the works of Frantz Fanon, a trained psychiatrist, and Albert Memmi. Several of the essays in Bhabha's *Location of Culture* are key works. See also Ashis Nandy, *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Ranjana Khanna's important *Dark Continents*.

7 Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria,* with Anna Freud, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 4–6.

8 For one of the most respected books on "Freud's world," see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980).

9 For more on the phantasm and its associations with melancholia, see Giorgio Agamben, *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture,* trans. Ronald L. Martinez (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), especially 22–25, 38–39, and 74–77. See also the seminal essay by Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality," *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 49, no. 1 (1968): 1–18, originally published as "Fantasme originaire, fantasmes des origines, origine du fantasme" (*Les Temps Modernes* 19, no. 215 [1964]: 1833–1868), and, for a lighter look, Slavoj Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies* (London: Verso, 1997), chapter 1.

10 The "Raden Mas" before Tirto's name, usually abbreviated to R. M., indicated that he and others with those initials were members of the Javanese nobility.

11 See Claudine Salmon's extensive bibliography and introduction to this literature, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia.*

12 See Hendrik M. J. Maier's masterful "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies," *Indonesia* 56 (1993), 37–66; see p. 51 for the discussion of how the Dutch civil servants in Holland were trained to speak a form of literary Malay taken from translations of the Bible, law books, and literary texts. Maier explains that when these civil servants arrived in the Indies, no one could understand them.

13 The *hikayat* and *syair* literary forms probably entered the Malacca Straits with Persian and Arabic traders hundreds of years ago. For more on early Malay literature see, among others, Haji Moekti, *Hikayat Siti Mariah,* ed. Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1987), especially Toer's introduction, and Toer's edited collection of early Malay literature in the Indies: Pramoedya Ananta Toer, ed., *Tempo Doeloe: Antologi Sastra Pra-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1982); Hendrik M. J. Maier, *Playing Relatives* and *In the Center of Authority: The Malay Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1988); Amin Sweeney, *A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World*

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Salmon, *Literature in Malay;* J. Francisco B. Benitez, "*Awit* and *Syair:* Alternative Subjectivities and Multiple Modernities in Nineteenth Century Insular Southeast Asia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2004); Sylvia Tiwon, *Breaking the Spell: Colonialism and Literary Renaissance in Indonesia* Semaian 18 (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1999); James Sneddon, *The Indonesian Language: Its History and Role in Modern Society* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003); and A. Wahab Ali, *The Emergence of the Novel in Modern Indonesian and Malaysian Literature: A Comparative Study* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991). This last is particularly useful in comparing the literary traditions of Malaysia and Indonesia. Extensive colonial literature in both English and Dutch is discussed and cited in many of the above works.

14 See Muhammad Haji Salleh, *Narrating Nestapa: Early Malay Aesthetics of Sorrow* (Leiden: Rijks Universiteit, 1993), a publication of a lecture presented by Muhammad Haji Salleh to the Malay Studies Faculty when he held the Chair of Malay Studies at the University of Leiden. I thank Francisco Benitez for bringing this lovely lecture to my attention.

15 Moekti, *Hikayat Siti Mariah,* 27, discusses the many different names for this form of Malay—*Melayu lingua-franca, Melayu pasar,* or market Malay, *Melayu perhubungan,* or relationship Malay—and says that this form of Malay is referred to pejoratively as *Melayu rendah,* or *Melayu babu*—low, or servant, Malay. Salmon, *Literature in Malay,* 115–122, discusses the Sino-Malay language as compared to other forms of Malay spoken on Java and in other parts of the Indies. She concludes that there were no distinctions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the form of Malay that was spoken in the towns of Java by Chinese, Javanese, Eurasians, and Dutch. She does, however, distinguish the Malay spoken in Sumatra from that used in Java.

16 The Commissie voor de Volkslectuur was established in 1908 and was succeeded by the Balai Poestaka in 1917. See Maier, "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia," for more on these developments. I discuss Balai Poestaka Malay and its influence in Chapter 4.

17 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature,* trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975). There was a very different kind of assimilation process in the Indies compared to what has been discussed in scholarly literatures on minor literatures of Europe, such as Kafka's use of Czech German or the early Irish fiction of colonial Ireland. See David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), for more on Irish literature as a minor literature in an imperial field.

18 See Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka,* 16–19, and Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature,* 22–23 and 195–214, for more on this point; see also my further discussion below.

19 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *House of Glass,* trans. Max Lane (New York: Penguin, 1992), 5.

20 The Samin Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was also located in Blora. See H. Benda and L. Castles, "The Samin Movement," *BKI* 125, no. 2 (1969): 207–240. The Samin Movement was a peasant movement among mostly uneducated villagers. Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, one of Tirto's followers, wrote an essay about the movement in 1918. See Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, *Het Saminisme: Rapport uitgebracht aan de Vereeniging "Insulinde"* (Semarang, 1918).

21 For the most complete biographical information about Tirto, see Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Sang Pemula* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1985). For additional information see Takashi Shiraishi, "Reading Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Sang Pemula* [The Pioneer]," *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 129–139, and his *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Ahmat B. Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855–1913)* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1995); Heather Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979); and Joost Coet, "Tirto Adhi Soerjo and the Narration of Indonesian Modernity, 1909–1912: An Introduction to Two Stories," *RIMA* 32, no. 2 (1998): 1–43.

22 Savitri Prastiti Scherer, "Harmony and Dissonance: Early Nationalist Thought in Java" (master's thesis, Cornell University, 1975), published in Indonesian as *Keselarasan dan kejanggalan, pemikiran-pemikiran priayi nasionalis Jawa awal abad XX* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1985), 32, explains that STOVIA was considered by many *priyayi* at the turn of the century to be a school for the poor since the costs were paid by the colonial government. Compared to OSVIA (Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaaren, the Training School for Native Officials) or the Kweekschool (teacher-training school), both of which taught in Malay and charged money, STOVIA required excellent Dutch and taught its curriculum in Dutch. STOVIA graduates could set themselves up as independent *Inlandsch artsen* (Native doctors) and make a decent income equal to what they could make in the rank of a first-class assistant *wedana,* the highest rank open to non-*ningrat,* or non-noble, *prijaji* (civil servants), after many years of service and promotions. The *dokter djawa* school was upgraded to a six-year course in 1875, and it became the School for Inlandsch Artsen, or STOVIA, in 1902.

23 See M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300,* 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 144–146.

24 Tirto Adhi Soerjo, *The Story of Nyai Ratna: Or, How a Faithful Wife Did Wrong. A Story That Really Happened in West Java,* trans. Elisabeth Riharti, Joost Coté, and Markus Soema. *RIMA* 32, no. 2 (1998): 45–95. My ellipsis. The Dutch sentence reads: "Honor to her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina, Empress of Insulinde." Translation of the passage has been slightly modified. *Tjerita Njai Ratna* was found and republished by Pramoedya Ananta Toer in *Sang Pemula;* see pp. 293–299 for a discussion of Tirto's fiction that no longer exists, especially his lost novella *Nji Permana* that is discussed in Toer's fourth novel of his *Buru Quartet, Rumah Kaca: Sebuah Roman Sejarah* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1988).

25 Louis Couperus, *The Book of Small Souls,* trans. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1932 [1914]), vol. 1, 37. Ellipsis in original. Translation modified.

26 For further discussions of the character of the *njai* in early Malay literature, see, among others, Chris GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre of the *Nyai* Narrative: Reading Genealogies of English and Indonesian Modernism," *Comparative Literature Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 409–433; Tineke Hellwig, *Adjustment and Discontent: Representations of Women in the Dutch Indies* (Windsor, Ontario: Netherlandic Press, 1994); Moekti, *Hikajat Siti Mariah;* Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution;* Taylor, *The Social World* and "Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia,* ed. Laurie J. Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 223–248; Gerard Termorshuizen, "Van hoer tot heldin: Het nyai-motief in enkele romans van Pramoedya Ananta Toer en P. A. Daum," *Indische Letteren* 9 (1994): 103; Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 296 and passim; C. W. Watson, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature," *BKI* 127, no. 4 (1971): 417–433; and Tirto Adhi Soerjo's fiction discussed in this chapter.

27 See Shiraishi, "Reading *Sang Pemula,*" 138, for an engaging description of Ratna and Sambodo as tourists.

28 See Rudolf Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), especially chapter 4, "Indonesian Dandy," for an interesting discussion of Dutch and Indonesian fascination with clothing and eyeglasses in the first decades of the twentieth century.

29 Tirto Adhi Soerjo, *Nyai Ratna,* 55. Translation modified slightly.

30 Ibid., 58.

31 Ibid., 59.

32 Joost Coté, "Tirto Adhi Soerjo and the Narration of Indonesian Modernity, 1909–1912: An Introduction to Two Stories," *RIMA* 32, no. 2 (1998): 26.

33 Ibid., 27.
34 Toer suspects that early parts of the story may be missing. See *Sang Pemula,* 301.
35 Ibid., 146.
36 Adhi Soerjo, *Nyai Ratna,* 64. *Gado-gado* is a Javanese dish of mixed vegetables and spicy peanut sauce. It also has a connotation of a mixture of heterogeneous things. Tirto's most successful newspaper was *Medan Prijaji,* published from 1907 to 1912, although he had launched several earlier papers.
37 Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 146–147. In her work on the rise of the Dutch-trained Native bureaucracy in the Indies in the early twentieth century, Heather Sutherland says that Tirto supported the rights of the lower *prijaji* and the Dutch-trained medical students (*Dokter Jawa*), but he was also a defender of the "ruling mission of aristocracy, both Dutch and Javanese." See Sutherland, *Making of a Bureaucratic Elite,* 57–59. This was the source of Tirto's complex attitude toward incompetence: he recognized the resentment of the lower *prijaji* toward the higher, yet he defended the rights of the higher *prijaji,* his own class. Toer also commented on Tirto's support for the Dutch colonial regime and his friendship with the Dutch Governor General van Heutsz (r. 1904–1909). See *Sang Pemula,* 186. See also Adam, *Vernacular Press,* 114–115, for more on Tirto's conservatism.
38 Joost Coté, Elizabeth Riharti, and Markus Soema translated Tirto Adhi Soerjo, *Busono* in *RIMA* 32, no. 2 (1998): 97–141. The other two are *Membeli Bini Orang: Sebuah Cerita Yang Sungguh Sudah Terjadi Di Periangan* (Buying Another Man's Wife: A Story That Really Happened in the Priangan) in Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 353–369; and "Seitang-Koening" (The Yellow Devil), in Tirto Adhi Soerjo, *Doenia-Pertjintaan: 101 tjerita jang soenggoe soedah terdjadi di Tanah Priangan, Tjerita Jang Ke Doea* [The World of Love: 101 Stories That Really Happened in the Priangan] (Makassar: Brouwer and Co., 1906). Pramoedya notes on the first page of the story that *Membeli Bini Orang* was originally published as a serialized story in *Medan Prijaji* in 1909.
39 "*Busono,* termasuk jenis sastra. Di dalamnya orang dapat melihat pergulatan Tirto Adhi Soerjo dalam mencari pembenaran atas tindak-lakunya selama itu, suatu pertarungan yang cukup memikat antara 'das Sollen' dengan 'das Sein' nya, antara kenyataan dan illusi, bertaburan dengan penyesalan dan gugatan nurani" (*Sang Pemula,* 299). Pramoedya considers *Njai Ratna* and *Membeli Bini Orang* "cerita pop," or popular fiction.
40 See Toer, *Sang Pemula,* xiii. "Walhasil dengan minta beribu maaf semua kutipan terlebih dahulu saya 'terjemahkan', bahkan kadang sampai terpaksa melakukan perombakan struktur kalimat. Ejaan kutipan adalah EYD." As

one example of Tirto's original spellings, here is a sentence from page 1 of "The Yellow Devil": "—Alam sjadah! Joealan tida dafat sabeser, orang oetan sjoema amfat roebiah bajar! . . . Karto pasang robak, ajo kita foelan." (Ellipsis in original.)

41 Watson, "Some Preliminary Remarks," gives a brief summary of this story, comparing its humor to Aristophanes' *Lysistrata.* The stories may be more similar to Giovanni Boccaccio's bawdy fourteenth-century *Decameron,* also a collection of one hundred stories. I thank Wolfgang Linser for this observation.

42 See Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (London: Routledge/Curzon, 2003), 95–102, for more on *Bintang Hindia* and its role in the early Indonesian nationalist movement. Laffan explains how the paper promoted the ideas of the liberal Dutch *Ethici* and their allies in the Indies. Abdul Rivai was the Indies copublisher of the paper who was living in Amsterdam at the time. Laffan suggests that Lt. H. C. C. Clockener, the Eurasian copublisher in the Indies, was a convert to Islam. See also Adam, *The Vernacular Press,* 93–107, on *Bintang Hindia,* its predecessors, and its role in the promotion of early pan-Indies nationalism.

43 Adhi Soerjo, "Seitang-Koening," 2. "Satelah Mina doedoek dipetengahan roemah Ali, pada satoe bangkoe jang deboenja sadim tebelnja melengket, liat liat petengahan itoe tida sedikit poena daper hiasannja, kotor mesoem, baoe! Di tengah ada satoe medja marmer boender tapi marmernja soedah kliatan koening dan kotor, disana sini ada bekas minjak samin dan koerma, tjepel dan kotor sekali medja itoe, pada dinding tembok ada tergantoeng satoe pigora rafal, jang sanget kotornja, roepa roepanja soedah sepoeloeh taoen deboe jang melengket pada pigora itoe tida perna di keboetin . . ." My ellipsis.

44 Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 355.

45 The novella *Busono* was never finished because *Medan Prijaji* stopped publishing that year in August. *Busono* was republished in Jakarta in 1965 by Piet Santoso Istanto in *Pantjawarna* issue 144/145 to issue 150/151, when it was also closed down. See Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 370. What Pramoedya included in *Sang Pemula* was what he recovered from the 1965 republication because most of his archive had been destroyed in 1966.

46 See note 22 above.

47 Adhi Soerjo, *Busono,* 98.

48 The Javanese and Indonesian/Malay word *dukun* has particular force in the Indies. Translated as shaman, witch, or healer, the *dukun* is both feared and respected throughout the Malay world. For a powerful study of black magic in Java, see James Siegel, *Naming the Witch*.

49 Adhi Soerjo, *Busono,* 102. Translation very slightly modified.

50 Ibid., 106. Aden is short for Raden Mas, Busono's noble title. My emphasis.

51 Ibid., 109–111. Despite his critique of aristocratic practices that were unfair to women, Tirto himself had two wives: one who had high social status and one who did not.

52 The preceding discussion comes from Adhi Soerjo, *Busono,* 117–122, the quote from p. 121, translation slightly modified. Cf. Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 396. Busono also gave a very technical explanation to his uncle about the workings of *forum privilegiatum;* that is, how his future wife, if untitled, would have the right to attain his legal status and be tried in European courts and not be subject to corporal punishment. See Adhi Soerjo, *Busono,* 119; Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 12, suggests that it was only Tirto's *forum privilegiatum* that kept him from corporal punishment by the colonial government.

53 See Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 12, where he calls *Busono* "novel semi-otobiografinya" (his semi-autobiographical novel). Coté et al., in their translation of the story, title it "An Autobiographical Fragment" (see Adhi Soerjo, *Busono,* 97).

54 Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 172.

55 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 109–110.

56 Ibid., 89.

57 James Siegel discusses the gap between appearance and identity that frees recognition from any one location in Tirto's journalism through his analysis of the juxtaposition of photographs in the Malay newspapers. This gap marks a path to modernity for Natives of the Indies by freeing them from fixed identities. See Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution,* chapter 3.

58 Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka,* 17–18.

59 As Deleuze and Guattari argue: "There isn't a subject; *there are only collective assemblages of enunciation,* and literature expresses these acts insofar as they're not imposed from without and insofar as they exist only as diabolical powers to come or revolutionary forces to be constructed" (*Kafka,* 18, their emphasis).

60 Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 145, specifically identifies Tirto's strength in his ability to see elements of colonial modernity coming together and in taking advantage of them but notes that his weakness was that he could not see where they were leading and how they would get there. He says that is always a weakness of leaders and innovators like Tirto.

61 For more on the Dutch government's efforts to create tension between the ethnic groups, see Toer's *Buru Quartet,* especially books 3 and 4.

62 Ibid., 130. This is from an article published in *Medan Prijaji* by Adhi Soerjo: "Semijong," *Medan Prijaji* 4, no. 9 (1910): 105–106. "Akan guna

ini pertama-tama Nederland dan bangsa Olanda lakukan itu dedemit (= perbuatan tidak sah, perbuatan syeitan), yang menakut-nakuti dengan pri Pan-Islamisme, Hadji-vrees (= ketakutan pada haji) dan lain-lain setiap kita kaum Islam di Hindia ini bergerak akan mendapatkan pekerjaan yang baik." The material in parentheses seems to be Pramoedya's insertions and translations of Tirto's hybrid language.

63 *Dr. Adriaan* (see note 64), Couperus, *Book of Small Souls,* vol. 4, 174. First ellipsis in original; second one indicates a broken-off sentence.

64 In this chapter, I use the Dutch edition, Couperus, *De boeken der kleine zielen,* 7th ed. Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen and Zoon N. V., n.d. This edition contains all four volumes: *De kleine zielen* (The Small Souls) was written in Nice, France, from February to May 1901; *Het late leven* (The Later Life) from May to June 1901; *Zielenschemering* (Twilight of the Souls) from July to November 1901; and *Het heilige weten* (The Sacred Knowledge) from January to August 1902. The English translation that I use is a text that includes all four volumes: *The Book of the Small Souls,* trans. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1932 [1914]). Mattos, Couperus' main translator, changed the title of the fourth book to *Dr. Adriaan* to make it more palatable to English-speaking audiences.

65 For an extensive discussion of Couperus' family and the connections between the characters in the novels and Couperus' relatives and friends, see Bastet, *Louis Couperus,* 268–316.

66 Couperus, *Small Souls,* vol. 1, 11.

67 Some commentators, both Dutch- and English-speaking, considered *Twilight of the Souls* to be the most brilliant book of the quartet. See Bastet, *Louis Couperus,* 272, for Couperus' own feelings that the last two novels of the quartet were the best. Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923) noted, "This is an amazing, masterly study in pity and terror. It is the flaming intolerable core of the book," in *Novels and Novelists by Katherine Mansfield,* ed. J. Middleton Murray (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), a collection of Mansfield's reviews of various works of literature, written between 1919–1920 for *The Athenaeum.* Among Dutch authors and intellectuals, Menno ter Braak, "Tachtiger, Meer dan Tachtiger," in *Over Louis Couperus,* ed. Top Naeff et al. (Amsterdam: De Samenwerkende Uitgevers, 1952), 25, praises *Twilight of the Souls* as the most brilliant novel of the quartet. He says Couperus offers "bijna zonder ontbrekingen het bewijs van een ontzaglijke inspiration" (a demonstration almost without interruption of enormous inspiration).

68 Three of the novels that Couperus wrote before *The Hidden Force—Eline Vere* (1889), *Extaze* (Ecstasy; 1892), and *Noodlot* (Fate; 1890)—are overdramatic and lack the power and masterly evocation of melancholy

and dread that the later *Haagsche romans* have. See Couperus, *Noodlot,* in *The Lion of Flanders,* ed. Henry Conscience (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, n.d.), and *Ecstasy,* trans. A. Teixeira de Mattos and John Gray (London: Pushkin Press, 1998). *Eline Vere,* trans. J. T. Grein (New York: Appleton, 1892), is one of the *Haagsche romans,* but it contains more melodrama and less complexity than the ones written from 1901 to 1906.

69 Couperus, *Book of Small Souls,* vol. 3, 71. In this quotation, India (D *Indië*) refers to the Dutch Indies and *grandeur déchue* can be translated from the French as "fallen splendor." The ellipses are in the original. Use of French phrases was common in Couperus' fiction and that of other writers of Holland's upper bourgeoisie.

70 See Taylor, *Social World;* Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire;* and Ann L. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), for more on this theme of miscegenation and the promiscuity of Indies women.

71 See Agamben, *Stanzas,* 25: "The imaginary loss that so obsessively occupies the melancholic dependency has no real object, because its funereal strategy is directed to the impossible capture of the phantasm. The lost object is but the appearance that desire creates for its own courting of the phantasm, and the introjection of the libido is only one of the facets of a process in which what is real loses its reality so that what is unreal may become real."

72 In *Studies on Hysteria,* 5–6, Breuer and Freud do not separate anxiety and trauma as Freud does in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* 36. In the later work, Freud saw anxiety as protecting the psyche from trauma that was usually accompanied by shock.

73 Melancholia, as the term is used by Freud and Freud's followers, is a condition of clinical depression caused by a person's inability to mourn the loss of loved ones or loved objects. See Freud's classic essay "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 14, ed. and trans. James Strachey et al. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), 243–258. For a different perspective on Freud's idea of melancholia as abnormal and mourning as normative, see Anne Anlin Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially chapter 4.

74 For the comment about Couperus and Freud, see Bastet, *Louis Couperus,* 361–362, 463. Bastet seems surprised that Couperus claimed he had never read Freud, since Freudian ideas were prominent at that time. Menno ter Braak commented: "Couperus wrote this work [*The Book of Small Souls*] long before the Freudian sickness broke loose in the arts. There is no pretense in his relation to his characters, with which authors who know their Freud so willingly mask a lack of style" ("Tachtiger," 23–24).

75 Couperus, *Book of Small Souls,* vol. 1, 228.
76 Couperus, *Twilight of the Souls, Book of Small Souls*, vol. 3, 237.
77 Couperus, *Dr. Adriaan, Book of Small Souls*, vol. 4, 156. Ellipsis in original.
78 Ibid., 167.
79 Ibid., 273. (Ellipsis here indicates a broken-off sentence.)
80 Couperus' critique of class or, at least, his exposure of class tensions and decadence could be compared, as I noted above, to Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* of 1901 or John Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* (1906–1921), but the questions concerning empire at the heart of Couperus' work make it unique. I thank Wolfgang Linser for bringing these other novels of family decline to my attention.
81 Freud is credited with popularizing the discourse of trauma, first in Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria,* and then in his later works. Freud's idea of trauma was connected to his famous "seduction theory," which he abandoned in 1897, and the concept of deferred action or *Nachträglichkeit.* For the latter term, never clearly defined by Freud, see Sigmund Freud, *The Origins of Psycho-analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887–1902,* ed. Marie Bonaparte, Anna Freud, and Ernst Kris, trans. Eric Mosbacher and James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1954). In the process of *Nachträglichkeit,* something that happens during or after adolescence can trigger a memory of something that happened in early childhood that was not perceived as traumatic at the time. In this book I use Laplanche's translation of this term as "afterwardsness."
82 See the essays "Hypnotism and Suggestion," Freud's introduction to his translation of Bernheim's work published in 1888 or 1889, and "A Case of Successful Treatment by Hypnotism," published in 1893, in Sigmund Freud, *Therapy and Technique,* ed. Philip Rieff, trans. James Strachey (New York: Collier Books, 1963), 27–54; for the dating of the first essay, see p. 27, n. 1. Freud translated two volumes of Charcot's lectures. See Ernst Kris' "Introduction to Sigmund Freud," in Freud, *The Origins of Psycho-analysis,* 17. Freud used hypnosis in his treatment of patients from 1887 until 1896, when he abandoned the technique.
83 Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria.* See also Peter Gay's useful chronology in Freud, *The Freud Reader,* ed. Peter Gay (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1989), xxxi–xlvii. For more on the work of Charcot and Janet on hypnosis and hysteria, see Michael Roth, "Hysterical Remembering," *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 2 (1996): 1–30; and Leys, *Trauma,* 18–19. For a very different take on Freud's work, see Mikkel Borch-Jacobson, *Remembering Anna O.: A Century of Mystification* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
84 Couperus, *Dr. Adriaan, Book of Small Souls*, vol. 4**,** 288.
85 Leys, *Trauma,* 8. This model came to be called the mimetic theory of trauma, as contrasted with the antimimetic theory. Leys' book takes the

theoretical vacillations between the mimetic and antimimetic theories of trauma as its central core. I discuss this important distinction in Chapter 6.

86 Freud, *Therapy and Technique,* 44. See also H. Bernheim, *Hypnosis and Suggestion in Psychotherapy: A Treatise on the Nature and Uses of Hypnotism,* trans. Christian A. Herter (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1964), chapter 1. For an interesting and persuasive discussion of Freud's so-called abandonment of hypnosis in 1896, see Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, *The Emotional Tie: Psychoanalysis, Mimesis, and Affect* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), chapter 3, "Hypnosis in Psychoanalysis," 39–61. See also Borch-Jacobsen's recent work: *Making Minds and Madness: From Hysteria to Depression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially the essays in part 1.

87 See Joost Coté's translation of Kartini, *Letters from Kartini.* On table turning in Europe a few decades earlier, see John Monroe, "Making the Seance 'Serious': Tables Tournantes and Second Empire Bourgeois Culture, 1853–1861," *History of Religions* 38 (1999). For more on hypnosis, see Borch-Jacobsen's work cited in the previous note and Leys, *Trauma.* For a discussion of Theosophy in Java, see Laurie J. Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), chapter 3.

88 The novel was published in Dutch under the difficult-to-translate title *Van oude menschen, de dingen, die voorbij gaan* in 1906 and translated and published in English in 1920 (New York: Dodd Mead and Company). The quotes that follow are from a recent reprint of the Dodd Mead and Company edition: *Old People and the Things That Pass,* trans. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (Gloucester, UK: Dodo Press, n.d.); and the nineteenth edition of the Dutch version is *Van oude mensen, de dingen die voorbijgaan* (Amsterdam: L. J. Veen, 1979).

89 Cf. Sander Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 169 and passim, for another discussion of deviant sexualities—Jewish ones—and the charges of incest that were leveled at Jews in fin-de-siècle Vienna.

90 van der Woude, *Maria Dermoût,* 125: "mooi, vind ik, erg mooi en rustig, en de oogst van vergeving van alle schuld, en vreugde en smart van een heel leven."

91 Louis Couperus, *Eastward,* trans. J. Menzies-Wilson and C. C. Crispin (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924), 270–272. The ellipses in these passages are mine, as I have strung together sentences from several paragraphs of one essay. The italics have also been added. See also the opening page of this book for Couperus' description of his colonial family and his great-grandfather Abraham Couperus, who was governor of Malacca, as well as his grandfather, who was Governor General of the Indies.

92 See Sears, *Shadows of Empire,* chapters 2 and 3, for a discussion of these scholars.

93 Couperus was surprised that the heart of the "revolution" that he saw emerging in Java should be traced to these very principalities, and he cited Dr. Tjipto Mangoon Koesomo [*sic*], Hadji Misbach, and Douwes Dekker as three of the individuals then leading this revolution. He agreed with the banishment of Dr. Tjipto from central Java and the jailing of Hadji Misbach, and was sorry that Douwes Dekker had not been given a stiffer punishment for being one of these agitators. See Couperus, *Eastward*, 194.

94 On *The Hidden Force,* see the excellent essays by Pamela Pattynama, "Secrets and Danger: Interracial Sexuality in Louis Couperus' *The Hidden Force* and Dutch Colonial Culture around 1900," in *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism,* ed. Julia Clancy-Smith and Francis Gouda (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 84–107; Margaret Weiner, "Hidden Forces: Colonialism and the Politics of Magic in the Netherlands Indies," in *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment,* ed. Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 129–158; Henri Chambert-Loir, "Menace sur Java: *La force silencieuse* de Louis Couperus (1900)," in *Rêver l'Asie: Exotisme et littérature coloniale aux Indes, en Indochine et en Insulinde,* ed. Denys Lombard, Catherine Champion, and Henri Chambert-Loir (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993), 413–422; Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures,* 253–291; Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies,* 123–133; and various essays in the Dutch journal *Indische Letteren.*

95 See Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire,* especially chapters 5 and 6 and p. 147; and Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge.* Cf. "Draft A," in Freud, *The Origins of Psycho-analysis,* 65, where Freud poses the question "Is there an innate neurasthenia with innate sexual weakness or is it always acquired in youth? (From nurses, from being masturbated by another person.)"

96 Pattynama, "Secrets and Danger," discusses the important role of miscegenation in *The Hidden Force.*

97 Abraham and Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel,* chapter 6.

98 Other works have suggested a time lag or a gap between colony and metropole and between colonizer and colonized. See Fanon, *Black Skin,* and Bhabha's idea of mimicry in *Location of Culture,* 121–130, as well as Bhabha's distinction between the pedagogical and the performative in the constitution of the postcolonial nation, ibid., 199–244.

99 Laplanche and Pontalis, "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality," 17.

100 For an excellent discussion of Freud's path to sexuality as the key cause of repression, see Jean Laplanche, *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis,* trans. Jeffrey Mehlman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), chapter 2.

Chapter 3: A Neurotic Family Romance of Modernity and the National Form

1 The title of *Buiten het gareel* (*BG* in the notes that follow) is usually translated verbatim as "Out of Harness." I have rendered it "Free from Restraints," keeping in mind Soewarsih's Indonesian title of 1975, *Manusia Bebas* (*MB* in the notes that follow), "Free Human Beings." The epigraph quotation is from Soewarsih Djojopoespito, *Manusia Bebas* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000), vi.

2 See Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), xiii. Although not looking at revolutionary politics, Jean Gelman Taylor had already published an important book in 1983 that used novels, paintings, and gravestones to investigate interracial marriages and extended colonial families to show the influence of women in Indies political and economic life from the 1600s to the 1800s. For more on the family romance under colonial conditions see Taylor, *The Social World,* and Françoise Vergès, *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and Métissage* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). Cf. Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), especially chapter 1, part 1. Sommer is characterizing the literary genres of a continent. I focus here on one atypical novel.

3 See Freud, *The Freud Reader,* 297–300, for a complete reprint of Freud's short essay. Gay notes the faulty translation of Freud's original term *Der Familienroman der Neurotiker,* or "the family narrative of neurotics," to the more attractive idea of the family romance. I thank Wolfgang Linser for the apt translation of *Familienroman* as "family narrative."

4 Ruth McVey, "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening," *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 136. Soewarsih's *Buiten het gareel* tells the story of one such Taman Siswa school. See below.

5 Hunt, *Family Romance,* 16.

6 Introduction to *BG,* 7–8; *MB,* xi–xii.

7 Edgar du Perron, *Country of Origin,* trans. Francis Bulhof and Elizabeth Daverman, ed. E. Beekman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), originally published as *Het land van herkomst* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1935).

8 As mentioned in the introduction to this book, the idea of the "anchoring point" (*point de capiton,* or "upholstery button") comes from Jacques Lacan, who sees it as a loop, or hook, that stops meaning from sliding between a signifier and its signified. See Jacques Lacan, "The Subversion of the Subject and the Dialectic of Desire in the Freudian Unconscious," in *Écrits: A Selection,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), especially 302–305, and Joël Dor, "The Value of the Linguistic Sign and

Lacan's Anchoring Point," in *Introduction to the Reading of Lacan: The Unconscious Structured Like a Language,* trans. Susan Fairfield, ed. Judith Feher Gurewich with Susan Fairfield (New York: Other Press, 1998), 39–40. See also Slavoj Žižek, *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 148–153. I thank my colleague Francisco Benitez, who brought Slavoj Žižek's more ideological use of Lacan's psychoanalytical anchoring point to my attention.

9 For a different look at the imaginative madness and fantasy of the Indonesian Revolution, see Benedict Anderson, "Language, Fantasy, Revolution: Java 1900–1950," in *Making Indonesia: Essays on Modern Indonesia in Honor of George McT. Kahin,* ed. Daniel S. Lev and Ruth McVey (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1996), 26–40.

10 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "Het eerste schooljaar," in *Indisch Letterland: Verhalen uit twee eeuwen Nederlands-Indische literatuur,* ed. Robert-Henk Zuidinga (Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1987), 235.

11 *MB,* v. Soewarsih also mentions that she had been asked by Professor Sartono Kartodirdjo of Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta in 1970 if his friend "Benda" could translate the novel into English, but unfortunately the friend, most likely noted historian Harry Benda, had died. The wild schools, discussed below, of the 1920s and 1930s were those schools operating without subsidies from the colonial government.

12 For an older view of the Balai Poestaka, see A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature I,* 3rd ed. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967). For more critical discussions, see Doris Jedamski, "Balai Pustaka: A Colonial Wolf in Sheep's Clothing," *Archipel* 44 (1992): 23–46; Maier, *Playing Relatives,* chapters 5 and 6; Coté, "Tirto Adhi Soerjo"; Toer, *Sang Pemula;* and W. F. Wertheim, "Pramoedya as Historian," in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta's Toer's 70th Year,* ed. Bob Hering (Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995), 81–90.

13 Soewarsih's Sundanese novel *Marjanah* was published over twenty years after it was written by the postcolonial Indonesian-run Balai Pustaka in 1959. For more on this earlier novel, see J. Noorduyn, "*Marjanah,* de Soendase roman van Soewarsih Djojopoespito," in *Indisch-Nederlandse literatuur: Dertien bijdragen voor Rob Nieuwenhuys,* ed. Reggie Baay and Peter van Zonneveld (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1988), 232–242. Noorduyn gives a summary of the Sundanese novel and translates several passages. See also E. T. Mulder, "*Marjanah:* Roman Sunda Hoholanan" (Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1996), for a Dutch translation and study of the Sundanese novel. I thank Henk Maier for showing me this dissertation.

14 Gerard Termorshuizen, "A Life Free from Trammels: Soewarsih Djojpoespito and Her Novel *Buiten het gareel,*" *Canadian Journal of Nederlandic Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): 30–37, notes that her Sundanese

novel "was rejected by Balai Poestaka because it was not didactic and its style was too complicated. In short, the novel was not traditional enough and therefore not suitable for the reading public." See also A. Teeuw, "Een buitenbeentje in de literatuurgeschiedenis," *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 164, for his correction of his earlier idea that the novel was rejected for political reasons. He explains that the book had actually been rejected by the Sundanese scholar Satjadibrata, who found the language "*slecht*" (bad). Cited also in Mulder, "*Marjanah,*" 3.

15 This biographical information and what follows below comes from Gerard Termorshuizen, "Soewarsih Djojopoespito: Cibatok 20 april 1912–Yogyakarta 24 augustus 1977," in *Jaarboek van de maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde te Leiden* (1978–1979), 39–48; "Een leven in isolement," *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 167–172; Kees Snoek, "De Indische jaren van E. du Perron" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden; Amsterdam: Uitgeverig Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1990), 200–217; and Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "Het eerste schooljaar."

16 The Kartini Funds School initiative for girls was established in 1913 by Mr. C. Th. van Deventer and his wife.

17 See Soegondo Djojopoespito, "Koreksi atas Tjeramah Sdr. Abu Hanifah," *Budaja Djaja* 45 (1972): 80–85, and Mrázek, *Sjahrir,* 45 and n. 86 on that page, for two different views of the congress.

18 See John Ingelson, *Road to Exile: The Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927–1934* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), 204–207, for a discussion of the Wild School Ordinance of September 1932 that was finally repealed in February 1933 after a large outcry from all the nationalist parties on Java. This supervision and suspicion of the wild schools is an ongoing tension in *Buiten het gareel.*

19 And this may have been, in fact, the story of Soewarsih and Soegondo when Soegondo was appointed by Soekarno to head the Taman Siswa school in Bandung that had formerly been a Sekolah Rakjat (People's School) of the "Red" wing of the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union) that had been associated with the Indies Communist uprisings of 1926–1927. After the uprisings were brutally repressed by the colonial authorities, many of the banned People's Schools were turned into Taman Siswa schools, and the one in Bandung, in particular, was turned over to Soekarno, who was asked to appoint a new director. It is unclear who turned the school over to Soekarno. The school's new director seems to have been Soegondo Djojopoespito, Soewarsih's husband. "The 'Red' Sarekat Islam schools made particularly rapid headway in West Java, with their principal center in Bandung. In April 1924, following the schism that separated the Communists from the 'White' Sarekat Islam, the leftist schools took the name Sekolah Rakjat. The government persecution of the next few years

caused many to be handed over—or to go over—to other sponsorship to avoid harassment. The Bandung Sekolah Rakjat school was thus handed over to Soekarno, who in turn placed it in Taman Siswa hands." This quote comes from Sajoga, "Riwajat Perdjuangan Taman-Siswa 1922–1952," in *Taman Siswa 30 Tahun* (Jogjakarta: Majelis Luhur Taman Siswa, n.d.), 194, as cited in McVey, "Taman Siswa," n. 20.

20 *BG,* 12.

21 The preceding dialogue comes from *BG,* 13–16, with some comparisons with *MB,* 4–8. In the Dutch text the last word is *sfeer,* atmosphere, air, or space, but Soewarsih translates it in the Indonesian text as fresh air, *udara segar* (*BG,* 15, 16; *MB,* 8).

22 *BG,* 20; *MB,* 13.

23 *BG,* 21. Cf. *MB,* 14.

24 *BG,* 14; *MB,* 5.

25 See Termorshuizen, "Soewarsih Djojopoespito," 35; Snoek, "De Indische jaren," 208; and Robert-Henk Zuidinga, "Soewarsih Djojopoespito, E. du Perron en de roman *Buiten het gareel,*" *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 158.

26 See Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature I,* and Keith Foulcher, *Pujangga Baru: Literature and Nationalism in Indonesia 1933–1942* (Adelaide: Flinders University Asian Studies, 1980), for discussions of the dominance of Sumatran writers in the new Malay/Indonesian novels and poetry of the 1920s and 1930s. Mrázek, *Sjahrir,* 53, n. 137, in speaking of the Sundanese people, notes: "Many of them, like Soewarsih Djojopoespito, were deeply Sundanese." By the early 1950s, however, Soewarsih began to write with assurance in Indonesian since Dutch was no longer an option and Sundanese would have limited her audience to speakers of that language. I return to some of this later work in the next chapter.

27 Toeti Heraty, "Kata Pengantar Toeti Heraty," in *Manusia Bebas,* 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000), xxii. Toeti Heraty was born in 1933 in Bandung, a generation after Soewarsih. Heraty is a poet, literary critic, feminist, philosopher, and human rights activist.

28 On Noto Soeroto, see Madelon Djajdiningrat-Niewenhuis, "Noto Soeroto: His Ideas and the Late Colonial Intellectual Climate," *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 41–72, and Sears, *Shadows of Empire,* 166–167.

29 E. du Perron, introduction to *BG,* 9–10. He seems unaware that a number of the letters collected in Kartini's book were written by Roekmini or Kardinah.

30 *BG,* 23; *MB,* 16–17. The Dutch and Indonesian texts differ here, and the Dutch says "Soekarno's geest bezielde de jongeren" (Soekarno's spirit inspired the youth), with no mention of a fire in their deepest hearts.

31 In her introduction to *MB,* Heraty suggested that Lastri and Dar became victims of this political competition because of the deceptions that kept

Indonesian political struggles fragmented by mutual suspicions (*MB,* xxiii). The People's Party in the novel is modeled after Sjahrir and Hatta's PNI Baru, New Indonesian National Education Party, or Club, and the Nationalist Party is modeled after the Partindo, the Indonesian Party, which assumed the mantle of Soekarno's original PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Association, after Soekarno was jailed for the first time and the party was disbanded. Soekarno's famous speech of 1957, "Marhaen and the Proletarian," dates his use of the word "Marhaen" to the 1920s, so the term was associated with him for decades. See Achmad Soekarno, *Marhaen and the Proletarian,* trans. Claire Holt (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1960). See also Cindy Heller Adams, *My Friend the Dictator* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), 61 and passim. It thus seems that Soewarsih feared political repercussions if she identified political affiliations too clearly.

32 For some background on the treatment of slaves, the forerunners to servants, in Batavia, present-day Jakarta, in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, see Taylor, *Social World.* Taylor's presentation of the treatment of servants is a gruesome one, and other novels from the nineteenth century support this picture as well.

33 *BG,* 31; *MB,* 27. The common Indonesian word for servant is *pembantu,* but the more politically neutral *pelayan* is used in the Indonesian translation. *Pelayan* can also refer to a waiter or waitress, or a worker in general.

34 For the criticisms of Lastri, see *BG,* 24; *MB,* 18. For the definitions of bourgeois, see *BG,* 53; *MB,* 54: D "trotsheid, harteloosheid, egoisme, verwaandheid en zomeer"; I "yaitu kesombongan, tak mengindahkan perasaan orang lain, egoisme, keangkuhan diri dan sebagainya." In her introduction to *MB,* xvii, Toeti Heraty notes how the friendships and collegial solidarity of the period are torn by mutual jealousies and suspicions. Lastri is considered *borjuis* by her husband, who is rendered as stiff and dominant despite his idealistic principles and wishes, and eventually pushes away his friends. Cf. John Ingelson, *Road to Exile,* 213–214, which describes how the PNI Baru of Sjahrir and Hatta would criticize the Partindo for its bourgeois attitudes.

35 For more on these differences between Sjahrir and Soekarno and the PNI Baru and Partindo, see Mrázek, *Sjahrir,* 87–95; Bernhard Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence,* trans. Mary F. Somers Heidhues (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 136–143; J. D. Legge, *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia: A Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1988), 35–38; and Ingelson, *Road to Exile,* chapter 6.

36 *BG,* 47; *MB,* 47.

37 *BG,* 48; *MB,* 49. The Dutch text just uses "*werkelijkheid*/reality," whereas the Indonesian one fleshes that out to "*kenyataan hidup*/reality of life."

38 Heraty, introduction to *MB,* xxi.
39 du Perron, introduction to *BG,* 6–7; *MB,* x.
40 *BG,* 7. For more on Soekarno, see Achmad Soekarno and Cindy Heller Adams, *Sukarno: An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), and its companion volume, Adams, *My Friend the Dictator;* Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle;* Achmad Soekarno, *Indonesia Accuses! Soekarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930,* ed. and trans. Roger K. Paget (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975); B. B. Hering, *Soekarno, Founding Father of Indonesia: A Biography* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 2003); Thomas Paulus Tjoe Tat Oei, *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat: Pembantu Presiden Soekarno* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1995); and J. D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (New York: Praeger, 1972) among many, many other works. Hundreds of Soekarno's speeches have been published in both Indonesian and English.
41 Heraty, introduction to *MB,* xxiii, xvii.
42 This is a paraphrase of *BG,* 55–56; *MB,* 56–58. For a translation of Soekarno's famous speech in his trial of 1930, see Soekarno, *Indonesia Accuses!*
43 *BG,* 58; *MB,* 61.
44 Dar was from East Java and the school was in West Java, where the people speak Sundanese. Dar, whose native language was Javanese, might not have been fluent in Sundanese, and the people would not have understood Malay, Dutch, or Javanese. *BG,* 60; *MB,* 63: "Wij Indonesiërs noemen dit ik 'de oudere broer', die over ons waakt. De godsdienstigen noemen dit ik geweten, dat het goed wel van het kwaad weet te onderscheiden." "Kita, orang Indonesia, menyebut 'aku' ini, 'kakak tua', yang menjaga kita. Orang beribadah menyebut 'aku' ini, 'malaikat', hati nurani yang membedakan kebaikan dari kejahatan."
45 *BG,* 65–66; *MB,* 69–70.
46 *BG,* 124–27; *MB,* 140–143. For the exact wording of Lastri's comment on her father's excuses for taking a third wife, see *BG,* 129; *MB,* 146.
47 *BG,* 130; *MB,* 148.
48 *BG,* 114–120; *MB,* 129–135.
49 *BG,* 155–156; *MB,* 179. For a description of Lastri's train trip to Djokjakarta [*sic*] in the novel, see Rob Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies: A History of Dutch Colonial Literature,* trans. Frans van Rosevelt, ed. E. M. Beekman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 212. Nieuwenhuys, who praises Soewarsih's book, comments on its hazy presentation of the politics of the time; exactly the reverse of what du Perron said of the book, although they both commented that Soewarsih's portrayal of Soekarno was too thin for their tastes. Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror,* 212–213, and du Perron, introduction to *BG,* 8.
50 *BG,* 163; *MB,* 188.

51 *BG,* 169–170; *MB,* 195–196.

52 Ibid.

53 Marti's ability to love and respect her father, with his three wives, and her stance against polygamy are reminiscent of Kartini and her sisters, who adored their father despite their polygamous family and the father's role in marrying them off to polygamous men. See also Indonesian feminist Maria Ullfah's memory of Soewarni Pringgodigdo, Soewarsih's famous older sister, at the Fourth Women's Congress, held in 1933, probably the model for this episode in *BG:* "At that congress, Ratna Sari of Permi gave a fiery speech defending polygamy as 'women's duty.' These Minangkabau women are ardent, nationalistic and fiercely Islamic. She was wearing a veil and traditional Islamic clothing. We were all very uneasy. How would Ibu Pringgodigdo react? Well, Ibu Pringgodigdo was furious and walked to the stage. 'I cannot accept that,' she shouted. 'Men are just like cocks who want to have all the hens all over the place.' The men at the back of the hall started to giggle and to cackle as cocks, 'kukuruku'! After that all the members of Isteri Sedar walked out of the hall and turned their backs to the congress." Quoted in Saskia Eleonora Wieringa, "The Politics of Gender Relations in Indonesia: The Indonesian Women's Movement until the New Order State" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1995), 80.

54 *BG,* 164–79; *MB,* 190–207.

55 Soewarni Pringgodigdo, "Du Perron-Sjahrir," *Sikap* 33, no. 8 (1951): 7. This passage is quoted in Snoek, "De Indische jaren." Snoek translates the passage into Dutch for his text, but he gives the original in note 115 on page 317. The translation is mine.

56 In his essay on one of Soewarsih's later novels called *Maryati,* C. W. Watson offers other information that leads one to suspect Soewarsih's portrayal of her sister's organization was not totally off the mark. See Watson, "Plus Ça Change . . . ? A Comparison of Two Indonesian Feminist Novels: Suwarsih Djojopuspito's *Maryati* and Istiah Marzuki's *Sundus,*" *Indonesia and the Malay World* 33, no. 95 (2005): 67–85.

57 Their new friend Trisno is supposedly modeled after Soejitno Mangoenkoesomo, brother of the famous early nationalist Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo and Soegondo Djojopoespito's good friend. See Snoek, "De Indische jaren," 200–208, for more on Soejitno, who was also part of the circle around du Perron.

58 *BG,* 172–73; *MB,* 199–200. Fritz Künkel was a German psychologist born in 1889. He studied with and was influenced by Freud, Adler, and especially Jung. Künkel developed his own particular religious approach to psychology, wrote many books, and moved to the United States in the 1930s. The Dutch translation of his *Karaktervorming door zelfopvoeding*

(Character Building through Self-Education) was originally published in 1928. I used the eighth edition, by F. Künkel and J. C. Roose (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1964). See also John A. Sanford, "Fritz Künkel: Alive Today," *Inward Light* 46, no. 100 (1984), http://fcrp.quaker.org/InwardLight100/100Reviews.html.

59 This is an example of a change in meaning that Soewarsih made in translating from Dutch into Indonesian. The Indonesian (or actually Javanese) *nafsu berahi* means sexual desires/passions rather than just inner secrets.

60 Soewarni Pringgodigdo, "Du Perron dan Pengaruhnja terhadap Kaum Intelek Indonesia 1936–1939," *Pudjangga Baru* 13, nos. 1–2 (1951): 32–33.

61 See *BG,* 190; *MB,* 220–221, for the *Künkelavond.* For a good overview of the development of psychoanalytic thought in Europe and the United States, see Eli Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul: A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004). For the object relations theory of Melanie Klein and others, see 254–260.

62 *BG,* 197–198; *MB,* 230.

63 While she is sick and delirious, Lastri receives a letter from her sister Marti telling her she deserves the fate that was caused by her own behavior and that the *kwalat* (oath/curse) from their father had come true and maybe now she will learn to be nicer to others. "Must the whole nationalist movement, so fumbling, so often stumbling, be called foolish, she asked herself, and were all the nationalists fundamentally brought down by mere curses?" *BG,* 245–246; *MB,* 285–286.

64 *BG,* 243; *MB,* 281.

65 *BG,* 247–251; *MB,* 288–292.

66 Sigmund Freud, "Family Romances," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 9: *Jensen's "Gradiva" and Other Works,* ed. James Strachey with Anna Freud et al., trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1959), 240–241.

67 Pringgodigdo, "Du Perron," 30. See also Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth,* and Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized,* trans. Howard Greenfeld (New York: Orion Press, 1965). I return to Fanon and Memmi in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: The End of the Nationalist Romance

1 The epigraph by her husband, Soegondo, reads like this in the original Dutch: "Als wij op het terras van zijn huis urenlang met hem zaten te praten, hadden wij het gevoel, als of Nederlands onze eigen taal was. Wij discussieerden met hem over Dostojovsky [*sic*], Huxley, Thomas Mann,

Malraux, Gide, Slauerhoff, Vestdijk, Van Schendel, en vergaten dat wij tegenover één van de kopstukken van literair Nederland zaten. Hij noemde ons bij de namen die wij alleen maar van de vrienden uit onze jeugd jaren horen." Soegondo Djojopoespito, "E. du Perron: Een vriend van de Indonesiërs," *Kritiek en Opbouw* 3, no. 13 (1940): 191.

2 See Suwarsih Djojopuspito, *Riwayat Hidup Nabi Muhammad S.A.W.* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1976).

3 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, *Siluman Karangkobar* (Jakarta: Pembangunan, 1963). This novel has been elegantly studied by Julie Shackford Bradley in "Wise Spirits: The Limits of Modernity in Suwarsih Djojopuspito's *Siluman Karangkobar,*" *RIMA* 35, no. 1 (2001): 1–41.

4 Armijn Pané's *Belenggoe* was originally published in *Poedjangga Baroe* 7, nos. 10–12 (1940), with many later reprintings. For Indonesian views of *Belenggoe* written at the time, see "Pertimbangan Boekoe, Belenggoe, oleh Armijn Pane," *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, nos. 6 and 7 (1940, 1941): 130–152, 171–178. For a selection of interesting studies by non-Indonesian scholars, see A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature I,* 81–84; Foulcher, *Pujangga Baru,* 55–63; William H. Frederick, "Dreams of Freedom, Moments of Despair: Armijn Pané and the Imagining of Modern Indonesian Culture" in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture,* ed. Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 54–89; Tineke Hellwig, *In the Shadow of Change: Women in Indonesian Literature* (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1994), 33–44; and Maier, *Playing Relatives,* 273–324. *Belenggoe* was translated into English by John McGlynn as *Shackles* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985), with an introduction by William H. Frederick, vii–xv.

5 Maier points out that Sutan Takdir Alishjabana and Armijn Pané did not know the earlier innovative and creative work of Tirto, Kommer, or the Chinese Indonesian authors who wrote in Malay, or of others whose work had disappeared. Thus the *Poedjangga Baroe* (see below) group of writers was a narrow group who thought they had to create Malay/Indonesian literature anew. See *Playing Relatives,* 304.

6 Maier, *Playing Relatives,* 301. In the last sentence of *Belenggoe,* Maier explains, the author intrudes into the narrative.

7 E.g., ibid., 275-276, 312-315; Hellwig, *Shadow of Change,* 33; Foulcher, *Pujangga Baru,* 55.

8 My colleague Francisco Benitez speculates that Tini may have had an abortion, a thought-provoking thesis that might explain her deep regrets and the lack of self-worth that she continually displays in the novel. Benitez plans to publish an essay on this reading of *Belenggoe.* See below for more on Tini's affair with Hartono.

9 Armijn was a lover of *krontjong,* a hybrid music of the Indies that incorporated Portuguese, Hawaiian, South Asian, and Middle Eastern influences. For a good description, see Philip Yampolsky's liner notes for *Music of Indonesia Series,* vol. 2, *Indonesian Popular Music—Kroncong, Dangdut, and Langgam Jawa,* SFW CD 40056 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways, 1991). For Armijn's own writing on the topic, see Armijn Pané, "Gamelan tegenover krontjong; Droom tegenover werkelijkheid," *Poedjangga Baroe* 9, no. 1 (1941): 9–30.

10 "Kami kawin, lambat laun aku mencintainya, berangsur-angsur dalam, aku tiada dapat menahannya. Aku tiada suka dia pergi-pergi, hendakku banyak-banyaklah dia didekatku, tapi aku tahu tidak akan dapat, karena dia mesti juga pergi, memang sudah pekerjaannya begitu. Aduh, tidak tertahan cemburu dalam hatiku. Entah siapa-siapa diterimanya untuk diperiksa, entah siapa-siapa dikunjunginya, untuk diraba-rabanya. Barangkali perempuan cantik lagi muda, dan . . . tidak berpakian, ah, gila pikiranku memikir-mikirkannya. Aku selalu takut, dia akan terlepas dari padaku, dia akan jatuh cinta pada orang lain. Dan dalam hatiku menyesal, mengingat perbuatanku dahulu, selalu saja menjadi alangan untuk menyatakan cintaku sebenar-benarnya, karena memperlihatkan cintaku seolah-olah membohongi dia dengan sengaja. Memang aku tiada pantas menjadi kekasihnya" (*Belenggoe,* 133).

11 Maier, *Playing Relatives,* 275, calls Jah "the personification of music, modernity, and nationalism."

12 "Didalam hati Hartono, seolah-olah hidup, berkembang. Katanya dengan gembira: 'Selamat tinggal Pop, sama-sama berani hidup, kehidupan baru. Mari kita pikul beban kita, mari kita buang belenggu semangat kita.' Instead he says: 'Selamat tinggal, Pop, baik-baiklah.' 'Sekarang namamu dulu sudah boleh kau pakai lagi,' kata Tini mengejek. Hartono terpikir sebentar, lalu ujarnya: 'Benar, karena didalam hatiku sudah bangun Hartono yang dulu lagi.' Diapun berbalik, lalu pergi keluar. Sikapnya gagah" (*Belenggoe,* 116).

13 "Tono tahu, dialah yang dituju kata itu. Yah, Yah. Berapakah diberinya nanti? Dapatkah dia memberi punten dengan adil? Empat saja, karena diapura-pura tidak kenal? Atau sepuluh, karena suaranya memang bagus? Mana kan dapat dia objektief. Tapi dapatkah objektief sebenar-benarnya? Siapa tahu, yang mereka berkenalan, yang Siti Hayati kekasihnya? Kuberi saja sepuluh. Bukankah Siti Hayati tidak kukenal, baru sekarang aku lihat, yang kukenal ialah Rohayah. Kukenal? Benarkah kukenal Yah? Dulu katanya dia nyonya Eni, aku percaya; katanya dia Siti Rohayah, rupanya Siti Hayati. . . . Benarkah dia Siti Rohayah? Ah, dia sendiri membuat pikirannya kusut" (Pané, *Belenggoe,* 118).

14 "Ditengah-tengah manusia itu dia sesak napasnya, merasa sempit dalam hatinya" (ibid., 119).

15 I am using the historiographical terms of perspective and moral viewpoint. The terms are John Smail's from his famous essay of 1961. The broader literary term appropriate here would be ***focalization***. "Focalization is the relationship between the 'vision,' the agent that sees, and that which is seen" (Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative,* trans. Christine van Boheemen [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985], 104). For Bal the term "focalization" allows the reader or critic to separate the one who sees from the one who speaks. Bal is interested in separating the seer from that which is seen, while I am trying to separate the narrator's perspective from his or her moral viewpoint. Cf. Hellwig, *Shadow of Change,* which uses focalization in its analysis of *Belenggoe* and other Indonesian novels. See also Laurie J. Sears, ed., *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths,* Southeast Asia Series (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), for Smail's essay and Sears' critique.

16 See Hellwig, *Shadow of Change,* pp. 212–214, notes 33–36, for extensive translations of Indonesian opinions of the novel. See also Maier, *Playing Relatives,* 276–278, and Foulcher, *Pudjangga Baru,* 58–59 and notes 162–165. For the original Indonesian critiques, see *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, no. 6 (1940): 130–152, and *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, no. 7 (1941): 171–178.

17 These enigmatic sentences and the mention of the old woman do suggest the possibility that Tini may have become pregnant and had an abortion. See Pané, *Belenggoe,* 55: "sehabis berdansa, jauh malam . . . keinginan itu terbit dalam hatinya di tengah jalan, hendak pulang, dia dibawa"; and 132: "Ingat lagi Nyonya, berberapa tahun yang lalu, nyonyna masih bersekolah, ingat lagi sopir yang membawa nyonya dan tuan studen Technische Hoogeschool?" And the reply: "Bukan, sopir itu sendiri dan perempuan tua."

18 See Pané, *Belenggoe,* 105–106, and *Shackles,* 74–75.

19 See Maier's masterful analysis of the role of radio, mechanical sound, and music in *Belenggoe* in *Playing Relatives,* 312–324.

20 "Yang kini menjadi relevan ialah mendokumentasikan perjuangan dan pergerakan, yang bertolak dari berprincip, kemudian berkompromi dengan kehidupan konkrit. Roman ini adalah suatu sejarah idealisme tersebut." Heraty, introduction to *MB,* xxiv.

21 *BG,* 14; *MB,* 5–6.

22 *BG,* 207 and 219; *MB,* 241 and 255.

23 "Zij, die een van de strijdbare vrouwen van Indonesië wilde zijn, die het toch ook wàs." "Salah satu perempuan Indonesia, yang mampu berjuang, yang sebetulnya sedemikian juga." *BG,* 243; *MB,* 281.

24 The Indonesian text gives a different sense here from the Dutch one. It says: "But please forgive me if my real feelings don't mesh with what you need" (D "Maar vergeef mij, als ik voor jou niet ben zoals ik moet zijn," I "Akan tetapi; maafkanlah aku, jika keadaan jiwaku tak sesuai menurut

kehendakmu"). This discussion between Dar and Lastri takes place in *BG,* 31–32; *MB,* 37–38.

25 " 'Hij rukt zich van me los,' dacht hij bitter. 'Is het mijn heerszucht, die hem wegdrijft? Ben ik inderdaad zo verfoeilijk, dat alle vrienden me verlaten? Soetrisno heft me al lang ontweken; toch heft hij altijd naar me geluisterd. Wat heeft hij zoëven een eigen zinnig gezicht getrokken, als wist hij alles beter dan een ander. En ik meen het toch goed met hem; hij is de enige waarschijnlijk, van wie ik werkelijk houd.' " " 'Ia melepaskan dirinya dari padaku,' ia berpikir dengan pahit. 'Apakah hasrat untuk merasa berkuasa yang menyebabkan dia lari dari padaku? Apakah aku begitu buruk, sehingga semua kawan-kawanku meninggalkan aku? Begitu keras kepala ia tadi itu, seperti ia lebih pandai daripada orang lain. Dan niatku baik terhadap dia, ia mungkin hanya satu-satunya orang yang kusayangi benar-benar' " (*BG,* 211; *MB*, 246; and *BG,* 217; *MB,* 253).

26 Heraty, introduction to MB, xxiii–xxiv: "kehidupan material dengan segala kemudahan ditunjang oleh sikap-sikap feudal yang membudaya, yang nanti akan mengalami penjungkir-balikan, meskipun sementara."

27 See Etienne Balibar, "Citizen Subject," in *Who Comes after the Subject?,* ed. Eduardo Cadava, Peter Connor, and Jean-Luc Nancy (New York: Routledge, 1991), 33–57.

28 "In de trein, zo met het kind alleen, voelde Soelastri zich als had ze niet slechts Bandoeng verlaten, maar ook vele dingen, waarmee ze innig verbonden was geweest: haar idealisme en energie. Ze voelde zich gebroken, naar licham en geest, vervallen zelfs; als had ze een te hoog kans spel gewaagd, zo bleef ze armelijk, klein moedig achter, en haar levens krachten schenen uitgeput." "Dalam kereta api, sendirian bersama anaknya, Sulastri merasakan, bahwa ia tak mininggalkan kota Bandung saja, akan tetapi banyak lain hal juga, dengan mana ia telah terasa terikat rapat: cita-citanya, dan kekuatan batinnya. Ia merasa patah, lahir batin, merasakan sudah tua, bagaikan ia telah kalah berjudi dengan taruhan terlalu tinggi, dan menjadi miskin serta berhati kecil, dan tenaga batinnya, rupa-rupanya telah tandus semua" (*BG,* 135, 138; *MB,* 154, 158).

29 *BG,* 204; *MB,* 238: "Was dit liefde, dit gevoel van naar die ander toe te willen vliegen, en in zijn ogen te kijken, diep, als keek je in je eigen ziel? Was dit het verlangen naar een vriend alleen of naar romantiek in de sleur van elke dag?" And: "Apakah perasaan ini dapat disebut cinta, perasaan ingin belari berjumpa dengan orang lain itu, dan melihat ke dalam matanya, dalam sekali seperti dia melihat dirinya sendiri? Apakah ini hanya keinginan mempunyai sahabat saja, atau mencari romantik dalam kejemuan pekerjaan sehari-hari?"

30 In her postwar fiction, Soewarsih writes short stories about women characters who suffer if they engage in promiscuity. See Soewarsih

Djojopoespito, *Empat Serangkai: Kumpulan tjerita pendek* (Jakarta: Pustaka Rakyat, 1954).

31 *BG,* 287; *MB,* 247. This echoes the fate of Kartono, the brother of Kartini. After spending decades in Holland, he returned and became a famous *dukun,* but none of the sisters ever referred to him in their famous letters. He too was an embarrassment and an assault on the modernity they were seeking to achieve.

32 Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies,* 211–212.

33 Mrázek, *Sjahrir,* 162–163. See also E. B. Locher-Scholten, "*Kritiek en Opbouw* (1938–1942): Een rode splinter," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 89, no. 2 (1976): 202–228. See especially pp. 209, 216, and 227, for information on the Indonesians who wrote for the journal.

34 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "De Indonesisische vrouw en het passief kiesrecht," *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 5 (1938): 75–76.

35 "Was het wonder, dat Tagore's Bimala spiedend uit haar huisje keek en de eerste stap er buiten waagde?"

36 Maria Ullfah Santoso, [letter to the editor], *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 8 (1938): 127–128. Santoso was the first woman to receive a law degree from Leiden and one of the first of two women to serve as a minister in the Republic's first cabinet under Sjahrir. See Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.

37 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "Onze Moslim zusters in en buiten Indonesië" [Our Muslim sisters inside and outside Indonesia], *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 18 (1938): 279–280. The following discussion quotes from and paraphrases ideas from this two-page essay.

38 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "De taal der Soendanese jongeren" [The language of the Sundanese younger generation], *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 23 (1939): 348–350.

39 See my discussion of Soewarsih's sister Soewarni Pringgodigdo, on du Perron and her memories of him, cited in the previous chapter; and see the discussion of Armijn and the cultural nationalists below.

40 Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "In Memoriam E. du Perron," *Kritiek en Opbouw* 3, no. 13 (1940): 192–193.

41 "Du Perron begreep ons als geen ander; bij hem voelden we ons niet van een ander ras, er was geen kloof, die ons scheidde. Hij was ons een broeder en leefde met ons mee. Hij had ons hele hart en we zouden met vreugde een offer voor hem willen brengen. Iets liefs, dat je bezit en dat plotseling van je wordt gerukt, laat gemis en leegte achter en felle haat tegen de verrader, die het liefste schond. We kunnen tranen plen genom hem, maar daarmee zouden we het gemis niet weg kunnen duwen" (ibid., 193).

42 See Locher-Scholten, "*Kritiek en Opbouw,*" 214; Soewarsih Djojopoespito, "In de schaduw van de Leider," *Kritiek en Opbouw* 4, no. 13 (1941):

191–192; D. M. G. Koch, "In de marge: Kortzichtig beleid," *Kritiek en Opbouw* 4, no. 13 (1941): 185–186; Beb Vuyk, "Op bezoek bij Soewarsih," *Vrij Nederland* 7, no. 26 (1947): 9; and Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies,* 210.

43 See Vuyk, "Op bezoek bij Soewarsih."

44 "Zij kozen de democratie, omdat zelfs in haar koloniale vorm de democratie nog enige mogelijkheden biedt, die bij de fascism zijn uitgesloten" (ibid.).

45 For an insider's view of the journal by one of its founders, see Armijn Pané, *Kort overzicht van de moderne Indonesische literatuur* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1949), a republication of essays originally written and published in the Dutch Indies journal *De Fakkel* just before the Japanese invasion and various essays by Armijn and Takdir in the journal itself. The most extensive study in English is Foulcher, *Pujangga Baru.* Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature I,* 28ff., offers an overview of the journal and its authors, and, for an important revisionist view, see Maier, *Playing Relatives,* chapter 6.

46 "Boleh poelah kiranja lingkaran itoe boekan hanja lingkaran kesoesasteraan, tetapi lingkaran segala anggota masjarakat bangsa kita, yang bertjita-tjita mengadakan renaissance dalam 'alam ilmoenja atau dalam seninja, segala achli pengetahoean, achli seni, loekis, patoeng, tonil, segala mereka, jang ridla berkorban oentoek tjita-tjitanja. Sekali lagi djanganlah hendak diaakan lingkaran jang tiada berbatas . . . mangkin besar tempat tanah lapang jang hendak diterangi, mangkin mengoerangi terang tempat seloeroehnja, hingga boleh menimboelkan ketjelakaan" (Armijn Pané, "Berdjalin tangan" [Tied hands], *Poedjangga Baroe* 3, no. 12 [1937]: 339).

47 "Er vindt dan een psychische beroering plaats, door het uit het even wicht raken van diverse elementen. Deze beroering, dit verlies van vormen, deze psychische dislocatie, laat zich kennen als een gevoel van onbevredigd verlangen. In elk geval dit is één der symptomen van dit gecompliceerd geval, waarvan het zich onzeker voelen,—laten wij zeggen het verschijnen van minder waardigheids complexen—er ook één van is.

"Deze ontwrichting zal de oorzaak moeten zijn, dat het beinvloede Indonesische volk, in een nieuwe verhouding komt te staan ten aanzien van de eigen cultuur, en daarmee zal dan gepaard gaan een objectieve aanschouwing van het eigene, welke vaak den vorm aan neemt, van een neerkijken op de eigen cultuurwaarden. In zijn besten vorm zal deze ontwrichting van westersch beinvloeden moeten leiden tot een harmonische nieuw bouw van een nieuwe cultuur" (Armijn Pané, "Het verlangen naar geluk in de modern gedichten," *Bangoen* 1, no. 1 [1937]: 5–6). This theme was brought to my attention by Maier, *Playing Relatives,*

311. Maier mentions *onbevredigd verlangen* (unfulfilled desires) and *psychische dislocatie* as themes in several of Armijn's essays and in his novel *Belenggoe.* See also Pané, "Berdjalin Tangan," where he cites F. D. K. Bosch's essay "Bali en de zending" (Bali and the Missionaries), published in *Djawa* in 1933. Armijn quotes a long passage from Bosch, who speaks of Native psychic disorientation and loss of cultural worth that can lead to neuroses.

48 For a detailed look at *De Fakkel* and its publishing life, see Liesbeth Dolk, *Twee zielen, twee gedachten: Tijdschriften en intellectuelen op Java (1900–1957)* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993), 69–98. Dolk notes that, before he left the Indies in 1939, du Perron was involved in helping to set up a forerunner of the journal to be called *Noesantara* that failed to find financial support. Du Perron recruited Soewarni's husband, Abdul Karim Pringgodigdo, and Soejitno as two of the Indonesian founders of *Noesantara,* but only the well-born and government-connected Pringgodigdo and two other elite "Natives" were asked to be on *De Fakkel*'s editorial board (ibid., 71). Armijn's essays from *De Fakkel* were republished as a book, *Kort overzicht van de moderne Indonesische literatuur* (Short Overview of Modern Indonesian Literature), which I have used for this discussion. See Maier, *Playing Relatives,* 278–292, for an important reassessment of this work.

49 Pané, *Kort overzicht,* 34–35.

50 Ibid., 36–37.

51 "Joodschev ervolgingen in Duitschland in 1938, het nationale onderwijs hier te lande, de Javaansche dans en wajang, het Japansche Bushido, de vrijheid van meenings uiting, de Bhagavad Gita, Molière, de Javaansche poedjangga Ronggowarsito, de radio en de pers, taal onderwijs, Gorki, het international recht, over l'art pour l'art, dat alles vormen een gevarieerdheid van vraagstukken, die belicht door de ideeën van de *Poedjangga Baroe* in nieuw proza is behandeld" (ibid., 43).

52 See Maier's discussion of the Dutch *tendens,* or parable, in *Playing Relatives,* 186–192.

53 Along with many other critiques of Armijn's *Belenggoe,* Soewarsih's short untitled essay appeared in *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, no. 6 (1940): 143–144. See also above, note 16. Armijn's essay "Gamelan tegenover krontjong, droom tegenover werkelijkheid" appeared in Dutch in *Poedjangga Baroe.* My discussion here draws on this essay.

54 See Taylor, *The Social World,* for a wonderful study of these mixed marriages and the mestizo society they created. See also my discussion in Chapter 1.

55 "Rohajah, seorang perempoean djalang jang mesti diangkat dari loempoer masjarakat, Tini si koepoe-koepoe, perempoean modern dari golongan prijai (atasan), Hartono, si penggoda, Aminah, perempoean

moeda yang pendjeloes, Soekartono penggemar seni dan seorang doctor jang sentimenteel, sekaliannja type jang tida' mengharoekan hati saja" (Djojopoespito, Untitled essay, 143).

56 "Perhoeboengan Tini dan Soekartono, perhoeboengan Tini dan Hartono, masa moeda Tini, jang semestinja mendjadi godaan batin jang tidak habis-habisnja bagi Soekartono dan Tini, hanja dengan sambil-laloe diterangkan; sedangkan hal itoe apabila diterangkan dengan tjara jang sopan, sesoenggoehnja boléh didjadikan sebab jang merenggangkan perhoeboengan soeami isteri jang lama kelamaan berakibat pertjeraian" (ibid., 143–144).

57 For the concept of the phantasm and the importance of phantasies, see Chapter 2.

58 See Nieuwenhuys, *Mirror of the Indies,* 209, where he speaks of Sjahrir's connections with du Perron. Soetan Sjahrir was in exile during the late 1930s when du Perron was in the Indies, but they began a correspondence in the last year before du Perron died. Nieuwenhuys mentions that even before that Sjahrir had read du Perron's *Notebook, Small Format* (*Blocnote, kleinformaat*), and Sjahrir commented in his *Indonesische overpeinzingen* (Amsterdam: Bezige Bij, 1945): "I only wish the lads on Java who are now busy practicing so-called literature would feast their eyes on young writers of *this* kind in the Netherlands, instead of reading those old fossils writing for the New Guide [De Nieuwe Gids]." Nieuwenhuys speculates that Sjahrir was referring to the writers connected with *Poedjangga Baroe.* Nieuwenhuys dates this letter of Sjahrir's to March 20, 1937, but it is not available in the English translation of Sjahrir's letters from exile that is titled *Out of Exile* (New York: The John Day Company, 1949).

59 The speech was called "Tahun 'Vivere Pericoloso,'" the Year of Living Dangerously, and Soekarno supposedly took the phrase from Mussolini, who lifted it from Nietzsche. The Australian novelist C. J. Koch appropriated the title of Soekarno's speech for his novel, *The Year of Living Dangerously,* published in 1978 to relate the events of Soekarno's notorious last year as they intersected with the lives of foreign journalists living in Indonesia at that time. In 1982, Koch collaborated on a screenplay with the New Wave Australian film director Peter Weir to produce the award-winning film of the same name.

60 The essay is the first one in Achmad Sukarno [Soekarno], *Dibawah Bendera Revolusi, Djilid Pertama,* Tjetakan Ketiga (Jakarta: Panitya Penerbit Dibawah Bandera Revolusi, 1964), 1–23, a collection of Soekarno's speeches and essays from 1926 to 1941. The essay was originally published in *Suluh Indonesia Mudah* in 1926 and published in English as *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism,* trans. Karel H. Warouw and Peter Weldon (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1969).

61 Soekarno, *Nationalism,* 51; *Dibawah Bendera,* 12–13. The quotation marks at the end of this passage are different in the Indonesian text, but the translators indicate they followed the original publication.
62 Soekarno, *Dibawah Bendera,* 22. No quotation marks in Indonesian text. Soekarno, *Nationalism,* 61.
63 Soekarno, *Nationalism,* 10.
64 Achmad Soekarno, *Amanat Bung Karno: Tahun "Vivere Pericoloso"* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Kendi, 2003), 7: "Tidak Revolusi dapat benar-benar bergelora, kalau rakyatnya tidak menjalankan Revolusi itu dengan anggapan *Romantik.* Tiada Revolusi dapat mempertahankan jiwanya, jikalau rakyatnya tidak bisa menerima serangan musuh sebagai romantiknya Revolusi, dan menangkis serangan musuh dan menghantam hancur lebur kepada musuh itu sebagai romantiknya Revolusi. Tiada Revolusi dapat tetap bertegak kepala, jikalau rakyatnya tidak sedia menjalankan korbanan-korbanan yang perlu, dengan tegak kepala pula, bahkan dengan mulut bersenyum, karena menganggap korbanan-korbanan itu romantiknya Revolusi. Danton pergi ke Guillotine dengan rasa romantik, Rizal pergi ke tempat eksekusi dengan rasa romantik, pejuang-pejuang Rusia menggempur musuh di Stalingrad dengan rasa romantik, Rakyat R. R. C., dalam jumlah berjuta-juta sebagai semut menundudukkan sungai Yang Tse Kiang dengan rasa romantik."
65 John Hughes, *Indonesian Upheaval* (New York: D. McKay Company, 1967), 9, notes: "A year previously, during his Independence Day speech on August 17, 1964, President Soekarno had lashed out publicly for the first time against the United States. The speech was the starting signal for a virulent anti-American campaign in the months following. American oil companies were threatened, American movies banned, American libraries and buildings attacked, and the American flag was ripped to shreds on all too many occasions. American correspondents were barred. American aid dribbled to a halt; the United States Information Service was virtually run out of town; the Peace Corps was invited to leave."
66 Koch, *Year of Living,* 13.
67 Achmad Soekarno, *Marhaen and the Proletarian,* trans. Claire Holt. (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1960), 29.
68 Soekarno, *Amanat Bung Karno,* 79.
69 "Rakjat Indonesia harus sadar-politiek dan sadar-revolusi. Sadar! Ja sadar! Rakjat Indonesia harus politiek bewust dan Revolutie bewust. Seluruh Rakjat! Seluruh Rakjat! Semua! Si Dadap dan si Waru! Semua harus politiek bewust, semua harus Revolutie bewust. Dengan meniru perkataan Lenin, maka tiap-tiap kokipun harus mengerti politik dan mengerti revolusi—hidup dalam politik dan hidup dalam Revolusi.

"Sjukur Alhamdulillah! Demikian itulah memang Bangsa Indonesia! Bewust! Bewust! Sadar! Ia tidak masa-bodoh. Ia tidak seperti rumput. Ia selalu 'gito-gito, lir gabah den interi.' Kalbunja senantiasa bergelora. Pikirannja selalu bergerak. Djiwanja senantiasa "krandjingan." Krandjingan seperti ditiup Malaekat! Krandjingan dengan tjita-tjita. Krandjingan dengan idée. Krandjingan dengan tudjuan perdjoangan. Krandjingan dengan kemerdekaan. Krandjingan dengan idée masjarakat adil dan makmur. Krandjingan dengan hapusnja 'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.' Krandjingan dengan lenjapnja 'exploitation de nation par nation.' Krandjingan dengan bentji mati-matian kepada imperialisme dan kolonialisme. Krandjingan dengan hidup berdjoang. Krandjingan, ja krandjingan, maka karena itulah ia selalu sibuk dengan aksi" (ibid., 69–70).

70 "Untuk didengar oleh telingga lawan itu, saja sekarang dengungkan lagi apa jang sudah saja-katakan berulang-ulang: Go to hell with your 'Indonesia going to economic collapse'! Go to hell dengan omonganmu bahwa Indonesia akan binasa ekonomis. *Go to hell!* Psy-warmu tidak mempan! Psy-warmu kami anggap seperti gonggongan andjing" (ibid., 75).

71 Soekarno was well aware of the price of American financial aid. He is quoted in *Sukarno: An Autobiography,* 296: "Americans are under the impression they're saying to us, 'Here, poor, dear, poverty-stricken brother . . . have some money . . . here, poor, little underdeveloped Indonesia, we are going to give you aid because we love Indonesia.' This is hypocrisy. America tolerates underdeveloped Asian countries for two reasons. One, we're a good market. We pay back with interest. And, two, she worries we'll turn Communist. She tries to buy our loyalties. She gives bounty and plenty only because she's afraid. Then, if we don't act the way she wants, she yanks back her credit and warns, 'No more unless you behave yourself!' "

72 Soekarno, *Sukarno: An Autobiography.*

73 In his introduction to Bernhard Dahm's biography of Soekarno (1969, vi), Harry Benda commented on Dahm's work: "If it is a remarkably rich portrait, largely drawn from contemporary sources, it will need to be amplified by future biographical efforts to capture other aspects of 'Bung Karno's' complex personality—his charm, his wit, his sensuality no less than his phenomenal self-centeredness, his manipulative skills, and all the many other traits that have gone into the making of Indonesia's best-known citizen. It is for this reason that Cindy Adams' *Sukarno: An Autobiography* (1965), for all its obvious shortcomings, is not so much superseded but rather immensely enriched by the present study" (Dahm, *Soekarno and the Struggle,* vi). Dahm himself noted: "Thus the appearance of *Soekarno: An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), after my

own work was completed, has not necessitated major revisions on my part. Her book contains a number of interesting details and is an important document for the understanding of the man. For his actual role in the Indonesian independence movement, however, contemporary sources provide more reliable information than the not always exact recollections of Soekarno in his sixties" (ibid., xiii). See Adams, *My Friend the Dictator,* for a description of Adams' access to Soekarno.

74 Adams, *My Friend the Dictator,* 92. This episode occurs in the chapter titled "Me Tarzan You Jane."

75 For some noted biographies of Soekarno, see Chapter 3, note 40. For one of the latest studies on the fall of Soekarno, see John Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

76 See his introduction to Djojopoespito, *Buiten het gareel,* 7.

77 See note 3 above.

78 See Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder,* and George McTurnan Kahin and Audrey Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).

Chapter 5: Trauma and Its Doubles in Postcolonial Masculinity

1 For an excellent study of these important debates, see Keith Foulcher, "A Survey of Events surrounding Manikebu: The Struggle for Cultural and Intellectual Freedom in Indonesian Literature," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (*BKI*) 125, no. 4 (1969): 429–465.

2 See Robert Cribb, "Problems in the Historiography of the Killings in Indonesia," in *The Indonesian Killings 1965–1966,* ed. Robert Cribb (Clayton, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1997), 12–13, for various estimates on the number of deaths.

3 See, for example, Loren Ryter, "Youth, Gangs, and the State in Indonesia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2002), for unheard and gruesome stories of the killings in Medan; see also John Roosa, Ayu Ratih, and Hilmar Farid, *Tahun yg tak Pernah Akhir: Memahami Pengalaman Korban 65; Esai-Esai Sejarah Lisan* (Jakarta: Elsam, 2004). For a discussion of censorship under the New Order, see Hendrik M. J. Maier, "Flying a Kite: The Crimes of Pramoedya Ananta Toer," in *Figures of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam,* ed. Vicente L. Rafael (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1999).

4 Cribb, *Problems in the Historiography,* 7.

5 Goenawan Mohamad told this brief story of his experiences in the mid-1960s and his thoughts on communism to my Indonesian history class at the University of Washington, Seattle on April 15, 2002.

6 The most innovative work on Indonesian historical archives has been done by Ann Laura Stoler. See Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain,* and her essays "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87–109; "On the Uses and Abuses of the Past in Indonesia: Beyond the Mass Killings of 1965," *Asian Survey* 42, no. 4 (2002): 642–650; "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," in *Refiguring the Archive,* ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002); and Ann L. Stoler and Karen Strassler, "Castings for the Colonial: Memory Work in 'New Order' Java: A Cautionary Tale," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 1 (2000): 4–48, republished as chapter 7 in Stoler's *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*. For recent attempts to gather testimonies of the violence of the mid-1960s, see Roosa et al., *Tahun yg tak Pernah Akhir.* See also Chris Hilton's powerful film *Shadow Play* (Hilton-Cordell/Vagabond Films and Thirteen/WNET New York, 2002). A very selective and subjective list of Indonesian novelists, playwrights, and poets whose work deals with questions of history and memory includes Seno Gumira Ajidarma, Nukila Amal, Djenar Maesa Ayu, Fira Basuki, Linda Christanty, Leila Chudori, Sapardi Djoko Damono, Slamet Gundono, Eka Kurniawan, Goenawan Mohamad, N. Riantiarno, Oka Rusmini, Rachman Sabur, Ratna Sarumpaet, Ani Sekarningsih, Ahmad Tohari, Ayu Utami, Putu Wijaya, Tinuk Yampolsky, and, of course, the late Pramoedya Ananta Toer.

7 For the origination of the idea of the "implied author," a construction iterating the ideological stance promulgated by the text, see Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983 [1961]), 70–76 and 86. For a different view, see Bal, *Narratology,* 119–120, and for a recent discussion stripped of reference to ideology, see Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative,* 229 and 235. Cf. Kaja Silverman's discussion of the author "inside" and "outside" the text in *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 193–202.

8 Hilmar Farid, "Pramoedya's Buru Quartet" (paper presented at the fifth annual meeting of the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Kuala Lumpur, August 2007). Farid is working on an extensive biography of Pramoedya.

9 Hersri Setiawan, "Art and Entertainment in the New Order's Jails," trans. Keith Foulcher, *Indonesia* 59 (1995): 17. Hersri makes the important point, also stressed in Foulcher's introduction to his article, that Pramoedya was not the only artist to create important work in the penal colony and in the jails of Jakarta before the prisoners were transferred to Buru.

10 See Toer's short story "Bukan Pasar Malam," translated as "It's Not an All Night Fair" by William Watson, *Indonesia*, 15 (1973): 21–79 (http://www.jstor.org/stable/3350792), for one powerful example of his earlier 1950s realist style.

11 Toer, *Tempo Doeloe*.

12 Tirto himself never went to HBS, but both Tirto and Minke, Pramoedya's fictional creation of Tirto, did go to STOVIA, the Dutch-medium turn-of-the-century medical school discussed in Chapter 2.

13 See Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 124–159; Doris Jedamski, "The Subjective Factor in Cultural Change: Between Political Strategies and Ethical Idea(l)s: D. A. Rinkes, a 'Marginal Man' in the Colonial Context," in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year,* ed. B. B. Hering (Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995), 190–210; Hendrik M. J. Maier, "Phew! Europeesche beschaving! Marco Kartodikromo's *Student Hidjo,*" *Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 184–210 at 189–190; and Wertheim, "Pramoedya as Historian," 81–90. See also Shiraishi, "Reading Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Sang Pemula,*" 134–136, for a contrary opinion on the relations between Tirto and Rinkes.

14 For an interesting essay arguing that the novels of Pramoedya should receive equal attention in postcolonial studies to those of Salman Rushdie, see John Roosa and Ayu Ratih, "Solipsism or Solidarity: The Nation, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Salman Rushdie," *Economic and Political Weekly,* July 14, 2001: 2681–2688.

15 Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 328–331, sees Pangemanann and the manuscripts that he edits and writes as contaminated by the oppressive colonial state. These ideas of contamination and infection are part of Cheah's arguments about Pramoedya's use of the organismic metaphor in his theorization of state power. Cheah's book traces the organismic metaphor from Kant through Fichte, Hegel, Marx, Fanon, and then to Pramoedya and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. For a succinct summary of Cheah's argument about Pramoedya's quartet, see 302–305.

16 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 45; *House of Glass,* trans. Max Lane (New York: Penguin, 1992), 44. Translation modified. See the new book Warwick Anderson, Deborah Jenson, and Richard C. Keller, eds., *Unconscious Dominions: Psychoanalysis, Colonial Trauma, and Global Sovereignties* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), for comparative essays on psychoanalysis and colonialism around the world. Hans Pols contributed an essay on Indonesia, "The Totem Vanishes, the Hordes Revolt: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of the Indonesian Struggle for Independence," 141–165.

17 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 53; *House of Glass,* 53. Translation modified. Rizal and Bonifacio, in very different ways, were the earliest Filipino national heroes.
18 It is Jean-Pierre Oudart's opinion that the shot/reverse-angle-shot sequence is a characteristic suturing device of classic narrative film. See Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts,* 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 355.
19 I am using the Oedipal narrative of desire as the desire to know the truth as well as the law of the father in the sense of Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text,* trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 10–11. See also Teresa de Lauretis' useful discussion of Oedipal desire in *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 107. Oedipal desire can be traced back to Aristotle's *Poetics.*
20 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 282; *House of Glass,* 283. Translation modifed.
21 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 93; *House of Glass,* 91. My ellipsis.
22 Ibid., 179/179.
23 Ibid., 356–357/357.
24 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 309.
25 Annalies, a Eurasian with European status under Indies colonial law, complicates Albert Memmi's discussion of the colonizer who refuses in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, e.g., 19. Memmi states: "At the same time it is impossible for him [the colonizer, always male, who refuses] to identify his future with that of the colonized. Politically, who is he? Is he not an expression of himself, of a negligible force in the varied conflicts within colonialism?" (p. 41). And of women: "a woman is less concerned about humanity in an abstract sense, the colonized mean nothing to her and she only feels at home among Europeans" (p. 22).
26 Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, "The Freudian Subject, from Politics to Ethics," in *Who Comes after the Subject,* ed. Jean-Luc Nancy, Eduardo Cadava, and Peter Connor (New York: Routledge, 1991), 61.
27 See Toer, *Sang Pemula,* 172–174.
28 Lane also notes: "Pramoedya wrote *This Earth of Mankind* in Tirto's voice, as a first-person narrative, but making it clear that it was semi-fictional by having his narrator protagonist state clearly that he was mixing his diary and other notes with his 'imaginings' " (Max Lane, *Unfinished Nation: Indonesia before and after Suharto* [London: Verso, 2008], 97).
29 The government banning of *Tempo,* Indonesia's major news magazine, and several other smaller journals in 1994 led the way for the creation of the Utan Kayu Artist's Collective in Jakarta. I thank Micaela Campbell, who urged me to think through the relation between Borch-Jacobsen's slippage and artistic communities.
30 For Cheah's discussion of the manuscripts and their transmission, see *Spectral Nationality,* 342–347. Cheah sees a future for the enlightenment values of the postcolonial state only in Europe, where they were formed.

31 Toer, *House of Glass,* 66.

32 Ahmat Adam suggests that Pramoedya felt a kinship with Tirto because they both suffered the same fate of being *dibuang,* or thrown away, in exile as well as fears of being erased from "history." Both also hailed from Blora. Ahmat Adam, "Pramoedya Ananta Toer dalam Rumah Kaca," *Dewan Sastera* (June 1989): 30–33.

33 Cf. Nancy Florida, who suggests a feminine author of the *Babad Jaka Tingkir* (Story of Jaka Tingkir) in *Writing the Past: Inscribing the Future* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995). See also *On the Record: Indonesian Literary Figures,* vol. 1 (Jakarta: Lontar Foundation, 2004), a series on Indonesian authors. "Mendengar Si Bisu Bernyanyi/Hear the Mute's Song," the section on Pramoedya, contains a young Javanese woman in traditional clothing who haunts the half-hour nonrealist documentary film.

34 Ahmat Adam notes that all 123 notebooks that were stolen from Minke in *House of Glass* were written in Dutch. Adam also argues that Pramoedya plays fast and loose with history and makes Minke a much more romantic and *bersih* (clean) character than he ever was (Adam, "Pramoedya Ananta Toer," 30). This criticism seems a bit misdirected since Minke *is* a fictional character.

35 Simon Gikandi, "Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Nationalism," *CLIO: A Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History* 36, no. 1 (2006): 84. Gikandi refers to Fanon's fears of the failure of the postcolonial state and the fate of its literary culture. When that happened in Africa in 1970s and 1980s, "the nation had to be evacuated from the postcolonial scene of analysis because it was the sign of a failed desire, a phantasm" (p. 73).

36 Hilmar Farid, "Indonesia's Original Sin: Mass Killings and Capitalist Expansion, 1965–66," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 3–16.

37 For discussions of time and history, see Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); and Harry Harootunian, "Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem," *Boundary* 3, no. 2 (2005): 23–52.

38 Toer, *Rumah Kaca,* 58, 60; *House of Glass,* 59, 60. Translation modified.

Chapter 6: Masculinist Trauma and Feminist Melancholia

1 For information on Ayu's career and the writing and reception of *Saman,* see Barbara Hatley, "New Directions in Indonesian Women's Writing? The Novel *Saman,*" *Asian Studies Review* 23, no. 4 (1999): 449–460. Ayu's recent novel *Bilangan Fu* (The Fu Numeral) has not yet received the critical attention it deserves, but the complicated story is generating a mystery

series of twelve more books, one of which has already been published. See Ayu Utami, *Bilangan Fu* (Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2008); Podita Sabarini, "Ayu Atami: A Balancing Act," *The Jakarta Post,* September 1, 2010, http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/09/01/ayu-utami-a-balancing-act.html.

2 See Gerry van Klinken, "The Battle for History After Suharto," in *Beginning to Remember,* ed. Mary S. Zurbuchen (Singapore: Singapore University Press and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 239: "Over 2,000 books are estimated to have been banned over the three decades of Suharto's rule (Human Rights Watch 1998). A report on these bans discusses twelve historical titles in the last decade alone. Most dealt with the events of 1965–66, but others dealt with the regional revolts of 1957–8 and the role of Indonesians of Chinese descent." See also Ariel Heryanto, *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally Belonging* (London: Routledge, 2006), especially chapter 1, and his "Can There Be Southeast Asians in Southeast Asian Studies," in *Knowing Southeast Asian Subjects,* ed. Laurie J. Sears (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 86, on access to documents regarding the 1965–1966 massacres in Indonesia; see also Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder.* For a study of the history and fate of members of Gerwani, the leftist women's movement, see Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

3 See, for example, Vedi R. Hadiz and Daniel Dhakidae, eds., *Social Science and Power in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2005); Heryanto and Mandal, *Challenging Authoritarianism;* Ahmad and Ee, *New Terrains;* and the essays by Indonesian scholars and intellectuals in Mary Zurbuchen, ed., *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005). In her essay in the volume, "Historical Memory in Contemporary Indonesia," Zurbuchen notes: "In the personal realm, it is clear that victims and survivors of violence must overcome considerable risk and fear to tell their stories. For example, 1965 was particularly disruptive within families and communities, and a great deal of memory remains below the surface. There has been little research on the dynamics of trauma in Indonesia, and few experts who know how to facilitate testimony from victims of violence" (p. 15). For other important work by prominent American scholars, see the essays on violence in Indonesia in *Asian Survey* 42, no. 4 (2002) (e.g., Stoler, "On the Uses and Abuses of the Past").

4 Utami, *Bilangan Fu.*

5 Ayu Utami, *Saman* (Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 1998); Ayu Utami, *Larung* (Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2001).

6 Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race.* See also Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), and Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina.*

7 Laplanche and Pontalis, "Fantasy"; Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* 526–546.

8 Cheng, *Melancholy,* 120–121. She also notes how Judith Butler will find in "this notion of fantasmatic authentication an operation of exclusion."

9 See Ayu Utami, "Writing as Negating" (presentation, IWP panel "Why I Write What I Write," Iowa City Public Library, October 26, 2005), 1–4, http://www.uiowa.edu/~iwp/EVEN/documents/Utami_Why_I_write.pdf. Francisco Benitez has helped me to think through this question of negation.

10 Interview with Ayu Utami, Jakarta, September 2003.

11 Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* 10. See also Chapter 2, note 72.

12 For recent debates on the idea of narrative memory and traumatic memory, see the recent overview by Susannah Radstone, "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics," *Paragraph* 30, no. 1 (2007): 9–29; and Paul Antze, "The Other Inside: Memory as Metaphor in Psychoanalysis," in *Regimes of Memory,* ed. Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London: Routledge, 2003), 96–113. For other interesting work on the idea of narrative memory, see Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds., *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Narrative Versions, Narrative Theories," in *On Narrative,* ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); and Stoler and Strassler, "Castings for the Colonial," 7–9. Stoler and Strassler discuss two models of memory: the hydraulic model and the identity model. For an extended discussion of the hydraulic model and Freud's conceptualization of it, see Khanna, *Dark Continents,* chapter 1. See also Leys, *Trauma,* 111–113.

13 Leys, *Trauma,* 20, explains Freudian *Nachträglichkeit:* "Trauma was constituted by a relationship between two events or experiences—a first event that was not necessarily traumatic because it came too early in the child's development to be understood and assimilated, and a second that also was not inherently traumatic but that triggered a memory of the first event that only then was given traumatic meaning and hence repressed."

14 See especially Utami, *Larung,* 154–162, discussed below.

15 Siegel, *A New Criminal Type in Jakarta* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). For a different look at ideas of haunting in Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet,* see Cheah, *Spectral Nationality,* especially chapters 6 and 7.

16 James T. Siegel, *A New Criminal Type,* chapter 3. I am leaving out of my analysis Siegel's interesting focus on photography as the technology enabling the displacement of the "people" with *kriminalitas.* See also

Ariel Heryanto, "Where Communism Never Dies: Violence, Trauma and Narration in the Last Cold War Capitalist Authoritarian State," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2 (1999): 147–177, for more on the ongoing pursuit of communism and former communists in Indonesia.

17 Siegel, *Naming the Witch,* 9. Siegel distinguishes the experience of witchcraft from that of trauma in the case of a man's death from voodoo or witchcraft in Australia. "Belief causes his death. Belief and not trauma. The person who suffers from trauma repeats the traumatic event in his dreams or in his speech precisely because he cannot believe it. He cannot understand what happened to him, even though he can say what it is that occurred" (p. 48).

18 James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

19 Cheng suggests that this is mainly true of minority writers in the United States (*Melancholy of Race,* 143), but I am suggesting it is true of many novelists who seek to provide an experience of a past they have witnessed or a future that they imagine.

20 When I queried her about this, Ayu said that her work reflected the way things were. Interview, Jakarta, September 2003.

21 I thank Henk Maier for encouraging me to investigate the theme of doubling that I found appearing and reappearing in Ayu's novels. The reference is to Freud's concept of the *unheimlich,* translated into English as "the uncanny." The feeling of strangeness can come from seeing a reflection of oneself in the other. See Freud, *The Standard Edition,* 219–252, "The Uncanny."

22 Utami, *Larung,* 1: "Siapakah yang menentukan jam kematian seseorang?"

23 For an expanded discussion of the novel *Larung,* see Laurie J. Sears, "Reading Ayu Utami: Notes toward a Study of Trauma and the Archive in Indonesia," *Indonesia* 83 (2007), 17–40.

24 "Bau nenekku juga datang dari almari dan lantai kamar mandi. Bau batik, lerak, mori, dan malam. Minyak cemceman yang penguk, serbuk cat rambut. Bigen. Lalu, semakin aku dewasa semakin aku bias mengendus sel-sel tubuhnya. Ketombe, keringat yang mengendap bersama asam, lemak, segala tai dan leleran badan . . . Juga . . . karbol untuk menyiram kencing dan kopet dari ubin" (Utami, *Larung ,* 24–25). *Lerak* is the fruit of the "soap tree" and is used to wash fine batik. *Bigen* is a type of hair dye. Thanks to Sylvia Tiwon for helping me to translate these difficult words in this passage.

25 Utami, *Larung,* 33. "Aku tak mengerti. (Aku seperti tak ingin mengerti.)"

26 This story is popular these days in Indonesia. It has been retold in Goenawan Mohamad, "The King's Witch," in "Silenced Voices: New Writing from Indonesia," ed. Frank Stewart and John McGlynn, special

issue, *Manoa* 12, no. 1 (2000): 65–70; Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *The King, the Witch, and the Priest,* trans. Willem Samuels (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, Asia, 2001); Toeti Heraty, *Calon Arang: Kisah Perempuan Korban Patriarki: Prosa Lirik* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2000). In the Balinese tellings of this story, one of the followers of Manjali is a woman named Larung (Richard Wallis, personal communication, February 2004).

27 Utami, *Larung,* 43.

28 The volcano Gunung Agung in Bali erupted in March and May of 1963. The eruptions claimed an estimated 1,500 lives and destroyed more than 62,000 hectares of land, causing severe malnutrition. See Geoffrey Robinson, *Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 239.

29 See "Ayu Utami tak Mampir de Kedai," *Pantau* 2, no. 20 (2001): 9–10, http://www.pantau.or.id/txt/20/06.html/. The article notes how Ayu spent some time studying medical texts at a hospital in Jakarta and then spent time in Tulungagung and Kediri learning about the traditions of black magic in East Java.

30 Utami, *Larung,* 73. See Benedict Anderson, "Bung Karno and the Fossilization of Soekarno's Thought," *Indonesia* 74 (2002): 7, where he describes this collection of Soekarno's speeches as "The official, bowdlerized compilation of his major texts, published late in his presidential career."

31 Utami, *Larung,* 72–74.

32 Ibid., 94.

33 Ayu told me Larung was schizophrenic, but we are never specifically told of that diagnosis in the book (Utami, personal communication, September 2003). Ayu does specify the drug haloperidol, however, and this is still one of the drugs prescribed to treat schizophrenia. In his essay on narcissism, Freud discusses the symptoms of schizophrenia and notes that schizophrenics are inaccessible to psychoanalysis. See Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 14, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1914–1916), 67–72.

34 See Leys, *Trauma,* 110–112, for a lucid presentation of Pierre Janet's ideas of narrative memory. Leys notes: "For Janet in this mode, memory proper was more than dramatic repetition or miming: it involved the capacity to distance oneself from oneself by representing one's experiences to oneself and others in the form of a narrated history."

35 As Leys explains: "Trauma was therefore understood as an experience of hypnotic imitation or identification—what I call mimesis—an experience that, because it appeared to shatter the victim's cognitive-perceptual capacities, made the traumatic scene unavailable for a certain kind of recollection" (ibid., 8–9).

36 This case is particularly relevant for soldiers, like some of the Americans who fought in Vietnam and, more recently, Afghanistan or Iraq. Those who fought in Vietnam carried out or were made to carry out atrocities and now suffer from the unbearable memories of those atrocities. The medical field of Post–Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was developed to deal with these cases. See ibid., 15–16, 230–233.

37 Ibid., 8–10.

38 Wisanggeni is the name of a well-known shadow theater character in Central Java. He is one of the many sons of the refined hero, Arjuna. His mother is a heavenly nymph, daughter of the god Brama (J) or Brahma. Wisanggeni is known for his total honesty and his ability to act as a savior of his family. Throughout her 2008 novel *Bilangan Fu,* Ayu uses shadow theater characters, Javanese beliefs, and Javanist mythology. The book is also filled with Ayu's hand-drawn figures and diagrams.

39 Siegel, *Naming the Witch,* 124. Siegel posits a choice for Indonesians between becoming a revolutionary or naming a witch. Ayu offers a slightly different set of choices.

40 Comment from Jim Siegel on Sears, "Reading Ayu Utami," March 13, 2007.

41 For a recent survey of discussions of *Saman* and sexuality, see Soe Tjen Marching, "Descriptions of Female Sexuality in Ayu Utami's *Saman,*" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38, 1 (2007): 133–146. See also the excellent collection, edited by Michael Bodden and Tineke Hellwig, in *RIMA* 41, no. 2 (2007), where Pamela Allen, Micaela Campbell, and Intan Paramaditha have very interesting essays about the work of Ayu and other post–New Order writers.

42 Larung hears his mother tell him that the grandmother was born "before time was something linear, rather like a cycle that goes on and on" ("Ketika waktu belumlah sesuatu yang linear, melainkan sebuah siklus yang terus-menerus"). Utami, *Larung,* 13. The Calonarang story reappears in Ayu's newest novel, *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2010), the first of the twelve-part mystery series that is a spin-off from her 2008 novel *Bilangan Fu.*

43 See Utami, "Writing as Negating."

44 See, for example, Katrin Bandel, "Heteronormalitas dan Falosentrisme Ayu Utami," *Kompas* (2005).

45 Utami, *Larung,* 155–158. Yasmin attributes part of her analysis here to Gilles Deleuze, "Coldness and Cruelty" (1967), and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs* (1870), published together as Deleuze and Sacher-Masoch, *Masochism* (New York: Urzone, Inc., 1989), which she also draws on in the following paragraph; see especially chapters 9–11.

46 "Aku kehilangan kesubyekan pada diriku dan menempatkan diri sebagai obyek. Aku kehilangan keperempuanku dan menjadi wanita. Dalam proses

yang tak kumengerti, aku mulai menempatkan diriku sebagai si terhukum, wanita yang dikutuk karena kewanitaannya" (Utami, *Larung,* 158).

47 Ibid., 158–160. See also Utami, *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa,* 57, for an exact statement of this male belief.

48 Utami, *Bilangan Fu,* 381.

49 See also Indonesia's brilliant filmmaker Garin Nugroho's modern adaptation of the *Ramayana* in film, *Opera Jawa,* of 2006, where Ludiro, the Ravana character, tries to get back into his mother's womb.

50 See *Bilangan Fu*'s "Selected Index," 532–533, where Ayu offers help to the reader and has one entry "Sangkuriang—Watugunung—Oedipus," 533. See also 37–62. For Laplanche's comment on the third person in his reinterpretation of *Nachträglichkeit,* see *Essays on Otherness,* 264–265.

51 See Ayu's play *Sidang Susila: Naskah Komedi* [The Trial of Susila: A Comedy] (Jakarta: Spasi and VHR Book, 2008). The book includes a reprinting of an edited version of the 2006 law along with several of Ayu's essays on the subject of pornography and press freedom. She says that the law is the real comedy in the book.

52 See Siegel, *Naming the Witch,* for his brilliant and disturbing discussion of the *dukun santet* killings.

53 The military coups of September 30 and early October 1965 are divided now by scholars into two parts: the first coup was partly an internal military coup led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the commander of the Cakrabirawa presidential guard. Untung and a few other military men were misled by the mysterious Indonesian agent Kamaruzaman, known as Sjam. At least a few of the coup leaders, including the communist leader Aidit, were members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), although the PKI central command and the PKI's millions of followers were not aware of the plans for the coup. The second coup was led by General Suharto and brought to power the New Order government that lasted thirty-two years. See Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder,* for the most thorough research on this topic.

54 The Bhairawa Cakra is part of an oral tradition of powerful black magic known in Javanese mysticism. It is believed to confer power on its user to defeat one's enemies. See also *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa,* 33–36.

55 Utami, *Bilangan Fu,* 452.

56 Ibid., 408. Italics in original.

57 See Abraham and Torok, *Shell and Kernel,* 85, where Abraham explains his notion of antisemantics through the Freudian tendency to capitalize words like Pleasure, Id, and Ego, in order to change their meaning and, Abraham suggests, designify them: "The language of psychoanalysis no longer follows the twists and turns (*tropoi*) of customary speech and writing. Pleasure, Id, Ego, Economic, Dynamic, are not metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches,

catachreses; they are, by dint of discourse, products of designification and constitute new figures, absent from rhetorical treatises." This essay by Abraham was written in 1968 as a review of Laplanche and Pontalis' new dictionary of psychoanalytic terms.

58 Utami, *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa,* 240. Emphasis in original. For more on this process of New Order demonization of communists and others, see Heryanto, *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia;* Vedi R. Hadiz, "The Left and Indonesia's 1960s: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7/4 (2006): 554–569; and the essays in Zurbuchen, *Beginning to Remember.*

Afterword: Trauma, Translation, and a Critical Path

1 Much of this summary comes from Leys, *Trauma,* 6–8, and the quote comes from page 7. But see also Antze, "The Other Inside," 96–113; Ian Hacking, "Memory Sciences, Memory Politics," in *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory,* ed. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (New York: Routledge, 1996), 67–88; and Laplanche, "The Unfinished Copernican Revolution," in *Essays on Otherness,* 52–83. Interestingly, while most of the authors represented in *Tense Past* believe that these memory debates have much to offer to historical research, none are historians. My thanks to Wolfgang Linser who helped me to think through these complicated debates.

2 *Sastra wangi*, or fragrant literature, was a term promoted by the Indonesian press in the very early *reformasi* period to refer to the group of women who were publishing books about sex, women's desires, and power. They were young, educated, and often beautiful. The term was taken by the women to be pejorative, equal to the English term "chick lit," which is why I have avoided it in this book. See, for example: Sara Veal, "Mona Sylviana: Challenging 'Chick-Lit,' " *The Jakarta Post*, March 26, 2010, online publication, https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/03/26/mona-sylviana-challenging-'chick-lit'.html, accessed September 16, 2012.

3 Pramoedya Ananta Toer: "Integritas penulisnya tinggi. . . . Saya tidak kuat melanjutkannya. Melanjutkan membaca ini rasanya saya jadi tapol lagi" (back cover of Utami, *Saman*). "The integrity of the author is high. . . . I am not strong enough to continue. To continue to read this would make me feel like a political prisoner again." Ellipsis in original. See also Marching, "Descriptions of Female Sexuality," for more on Pramoedya's and other male writers' and publishers' reactions to Ayu's work. See also *RIMA,* 41, no. 2 (2007): 1–204, for the set of essays "Post Soeharto Women's Writing and Cultural Production."

Glossary

Terms in this glossary appear in bold when they are first used in the text. For Malay and Indonesian words, older spellings are given first and then new spellings.

actief kiesrecht: Dutch for "active suffrage."

affect: As used in psychoanalytical studies, "affect" (G *Affekt*) goes back to Freud's early work, where he saw affect as an excess of excitation or a "quantity of instinctual energy" that an individual could not release (see Laplanche and Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis,* 13–15). In a vast oversimplification, the affect becomes attached, at least temporarily, to a memory but is not accessible except possibly by Freud's own "talk therapy." Freud modified his own definition several times over the course of his career. Today "affect" is used more generally in psychoanalysis to represent emotional energy with, for example, anxiety as one mode. Usually "affect" is a more general term than "emotion," and one affect can encompass several emotional states.

afterwardsness: Jean Laplanche's translation of Freud's idea of *Nachträglichkeit.*

agencyless subjects: People perceived to be without the power to act.

anchoring point: F *point de capiton,* or "upholstery button," from Jacques Lacan, who sees the button as holding ideologies in place to keep secrets and meaning concealed.

angst: Dutch, German, Danish, and Norwegian word for a mixture of terror, fright, and anxiety.

antimimetic model of trauma: Theory of trauma where the trauma is believed to be completely external to the subject.

aporias: Sources of hesitation or doubt.

Balai Poestaka: Malay word for the Dutch colonial publishing house, or Bureau of Popular Literature (D Commissie voor de Volkslectuur), in the Indies in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Balai Poestaka Malay: The form of Malay preferred by the Dutch colonials and their Native assistants who worked at the Balai Poestaka.

beschaving: Dutch word for "culture" or "refinement."

blijvers: Those Dutch colonials and planters who lived in the Indies for long periods of time and adopted Native ways.

buaja/buaya: Malay word for mixed-blood scoundrels or, literally, crocodiles.

Bupati: Javanese word for Regent, the highest Native official in the Indies.

Cakrabirawa or Bhairawa Cakra: Oral tradition preserved in temple inscriptions that confers occult power on the person able to read the teaching

and master it. Cakrabirawa also refers to Indonesian president Soekarno's elite military guard in the early 1960s.

cathartic method: Breuer's and Freud's late-nineteenth-century idea of having patients talk about their thoughts, wishes, dreams, and phantasies, often under hypnosis.

colonial modernity: The time period of European imperial rule in Holland and the Indies as used in this book.

creole: Word for full-blooded Europeans born outside of Europe.

danjang/danyang: Javanese word for guardian spirits of trees, streams, and so on.

declarative memory: One of the theorizations of memory that refers to memories that can be narrativized. It is often opposed to procedural and/or traumatic memories.

desubjectivized form: In a dream, a subject scattered throughout the setting.

dewa-dewi: Malay and Indonesian word for gods.

dhalang/dalang: Javanese and Indonesian word for puppeteer, or one who manipulates things behind the scenes.

documentary desires: The desire to preserve something through historical, literary, and/or mediatic methods.

dosa: Indonesian word for sin.

dream-work: Freud's theory of dream interpretation based on ideas of condensation, displacement, secondary revision, and considerations of representability.

dukun: Javanese, Malay, and Indonesian word for shaman.

elmoe: Couperus' Dutch spelling for *ilmu,* the Malay and Indonesian word for magic forces or science; from the Arabic *'ilm* ع.

enigmatic signifiers: Term Jean Laplanche borrowed from Jacques Lacan for messages implanted in children by family members and other caregivers.

family romance/family narrative: Freudian idea of children's unconscious or conscious desires for different and better parents.

une fantasmatique: French word for "phantasmatic." See entry for "phantasmatic."

focalization: Theoretical concept from Dutch scholar Mieke Bal for analyzing perspective, point of view, and relations between figures in narrative.

Gerwani: Women's political group in 1950s and early-1960s postcolonial Indonesia associated with the Indonesian Communist Party. The Gerwani women were accused of lewd dancing and mutilation of the bodies of the captured generals on the night of September 30, 1965, as part of the so-called Untung coup that was blamed on the Communists.

***Haagsche (Haagse) romans*:** Novels of colonial era Den Haag. Louis Couperus' most famous novels are his Haagsche novels.

hadji/haji: Islamic man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. A woman is called a *haja.*

hikajat/hikayat: Genre of Malay and Javanese literary texts.

hormat: Groveling behavior, performed both by and for the Javanese/Sundanese upper classes and Dutch colonials to mark their honor and prestige.

imperial field: The circulation of capital, people, and ideas within the boundaries of an empire based on repressive and/or economic control.

Indo: Eurasian, used of children of European and Indies Natives in the colonial Indies.

intrusive intimacies: Concept from the work of Jean Laplanche to refer to messages, with or without words, passed on in families and between people.

kampung: Indonesian and Malay word for "village" or "neighborhood."

kebudayaan: Malay and Indonesian word for culture or civilization.

kijaji/kjai/kyai: A respected Javanese healer and/or teacher of Islamic mysticism.

krontjong/kroncong: Genre of music in the Indies and Indonesia mixing Portuguese, Hawaiian, Middle Eastern, South Asian, and local musical forms.

lingua franca Malay: Informal style of Malay used for newspapers and novel writing in the Malay archipelago in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially in coastal towns.

lintah darat: Malay and Indonesian words for "leeches"; slang for moneylenders in the colonial Indies.

Manikebu: A shortened form of the phrase "Manifes Kebudajaan," or Cultural Manifesto. *Mani* = semen + *kebu* = water buffalo, "water buffalo semen," is used as a pejorative term for the Manifesto. The signers of the Cultural Manifesto in August 1963 proclaimed art's connections to universal humanism but wanted to separate art from politics in reaction to the artists associated with the group LEKRA. LEKRA had ties to socialist realism and the Communist Party, and Pramoedja Ananta Toer was a major figure. The signers of Manikebu, who included Goenawan Mohamad, H. B. Jassin, Arief Budiman, and a dozen or so others, declared their allegiance to the government's slogan of Pantjasila, or the five national precepts: belief in one god, a just and civilized society, Indonesian state unity, democracy through negotiation and agreement, and social justice for all. The Manikebu group did not declare their support, however, for Soekarno's policy of *Nasakom*: nationalism, religion, and communism. The Manifesto was banned by Soekarno in May of 1964, and the signers became political outcasts, some losing their jobs, until the overthrow of Soekarno.

mannen-maatschappij: Dutch for "male society."

melancholia: A state of clinical depression. Melancholia was compared unfavorably to mourning by Sigmund Freud in his famous essay of 1917 to describe someone suffering from an inability to recognize and mourn a loss.

mimetic model of trauma: Theory of trauma where the traumatized subject is disassociated, cannot narrate the trauma, and can only mimic those around him or her.

Nachträglichkeit: German word used by Freud to refer to a process of delayed reaction to a traumatic event. Translated as "deferred action" by James Strachey and as "afterwardsness" by Jean Laplanche.

nasi kuning: Javanese "yellow" rice, made with turmeric and used for offerings and celebrations.

nerimo-levenshouding: Javanese and Dutch expression for the Javanese attitude of acceptance.

New Order: I Orde Baru, The name for the government that came into power in March of 1966 under the leadership of Major General and eventually President Suharto. Suharto's military-style rule, with regularly held elections where his political vehicle Golkar usually won by around 66 percent, lasted until May of 1998.

njai/nyai: Native women who served as housekeepers and sexual partners for Dutch, Asian, and Eurasian men during the Dutch Trading Company and colonial periods in the Indies.

njonja/nyonya: Term of address for married Eurasian, Chinese, or European women in the Indies and Indonesia.

nonna: Term of address for unmarried Eurasian, Chinese, or European women in the Indies and Indonesia.

pembantu, pelajan/pelayan: Malay and Indonesian terms for Native servants in Native, Eurasian, and Dutch homes in the Indies and Indonesia.

pembuangan: Indonesian word for one who is thrown away or exiled.

peranakan: Mixed-blood peoples, most often used of Chinese Indonesians.

persdelict: Dutch word for publishing unacceptable articles in the colonial Indies and being punished for it.

phantasmatic: According to Laplanche and Pontalis, a "phantasmatic" is the work of enabling an identity. It explains the way a subject is structured in the unconscious.

phantasms: Psychoanalytical word for certain phantasies. In this book, the phantasm is the *elmoe* or echo that can arise from contact with an Other. This contact can sometimes lead to deviant sexualities, behaviors, and horrors that can be twisted by power into violence.

phantasy/fantasy: Word used in psychoanalytical discourse to refer to products of the imagination that originate both in daydreams and in the deepest levels of the unconscious.

phantoms: Used in this book to refer to the ideas of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok on transgenerational haunting. Secrets passed from one generation to another with or without words.

Poedjangga Baroe/Pujangga Baru: "The New Poet." Journal published in the Indies in the 1930s. It was the first journal to publish literature in government-style Malay.

prijaji/priyayi: Javanese civil servants or white-collar workers in the Dutch Indies.

procedural memory: A theorization of memory that refers to memories that cannot be narrativized. Procedural memory is often opposed to declarative memory and linked with traumatic memory by neurobiologists.

Raden: Lowest level of Javanese elite titles.

Raden Mas: Term of address for certain elite men in the colonial Indies.

rajah/raja: Malay and Indonesian word for a king or local ruler.

rakjat/rakyat: Indonesian word for the "people" or "folk."

Real: Theoretical idea from the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan used to understand the psychic world. Lacan divides the psychic world into the Imaginary, the realm before language that is often associated with the maternal sphere; the Symbolic, the realm of language, law, and the Father; and the Real, an unreachable place where traumas, secrets, and phantasms of the past haunt the present. Once traumas from the Real can be articulated, they are no longer part of the Real.

Regent: A Native bureaucrat in the colonial Indies.

santri: Muslims who are more pious than other Muslims in Java.

secondary revision: Part of Freudian "dream-work" where a linear narrative is imposed on the dream elements.

selamatan: Indonesian or Javanese ritual communal meal to ensure safety.

selir: Javanese word for "concubine."

situated testimonies: Term used in this book for novels or other forms of literary narratives that can form part of a literary archive.

Sjech/Syech: Malay/Indonesian word for Shaik or person with Arab ancestry and possibly descended from the Prophet.

subjectivity: The word "subjectivity" is commonly used in psychoanalysis, literary studies, and film theory to refer to a nonessentialist and deconstructed view of the self. Subjectivity is made up of desires, sexualities, dreams, and needs, and is constantly in flux. Sometimes equated with identity, "subjectivity" in the sense I use it is different from identity. Identities are often imposed by others to refer to individuals or groups of people based on ideas of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality,

and nationality. Subjectivity refers to an inner world of the self that can be called into coherence through ideology. Once called into coherence, a subjectivity could be said to have an identity for an unspecified time. The word is now current in many disciplines and in postcolonial and feminist theories as well.

suture/suturing: A term from film theory that refers to gaps in ideological worldviews that need to be sewn together. As part of this process, the viewer is sewn into the ideological view of the film director or author.

tempo doeloe: Time past. A nostalgic term for the Dutch Indies and the life of Dutch people who lived there.

totok: Malay and Indonesian word for "pure" in the sense of bloodlines.

transgenerational haunting: Theory of the French psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok that traumas can be passed with or without words from generation to generation.

trauma theory: Body of scholarship that has developed over the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century to understand the concept of trauma.

traumatic neurosis: Freudian psychoanalytic terminology for those suffering the effects of trauma and *Nachträglichkeit.*

trekkers: Dutch word for Dutch people who come to the Indies and leave after a few years.

ulama: Islamic legal scholars, of varying educational levels, in the Indies and Indonesia and throughout the Islamic world. Used for both singular and plural forms in Indonesian.

uleëbalang: Customary leaders in Aceh who, under the negotiations of the Islam expert C. Snouck Hurgronje, collaborated with Dutch colonials against the *ulama* to end the Dutch-Aceh War in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

uncanny: Freud's concept of the *unheimlich,* translated into English as "the uncanny." It refers to a feeling of strangeness that can come from seeing a reflection of oneself in an Other. Doubling is one form that the uncanny takes.

volk, rakyat: Respectively Dutch and Indonesian words for the "people" or "folk."

volksmenner: Dutch word for "demagogue."

Volksraad: First representative body in the Indies with Native members, formed in 1918. It had no legislative powers.

"Year of Living Dangerously": I "Tahun 'Vivere Pericoloso' ": Name of Soekarno's famous August 17, 1964, Independence Day speech. The phrase also can refer to a novel and a film of the same name.

zending: Dutch word for "missionary."

zonden: Dutch word for "sins."

Selected Bibliography

I give complete bibliographical information in the manuscript the first time each source is introduced. This bibliography, in addition, includes sources I have consulted but not directly cited.

Abbott, H. Porter. *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Abraham, Nicolas, and Maria Torok. *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis,* vol. 1. Translated and edited by Nicholas T. Rand. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

———. *The Wolfman's Magic Word.* Translated by Nicholas Rand. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

Adam, Ahmat. "Pramoedya Ananta Toer dalam Rumah Kaca." *Dewan Sastera* (June 1989): 30–33.

———. *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855–1913).* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1995.

Adams, Cindy Heller. *My Friend the Dictator.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967.

Adhi Soerjo, Tirto. *Busono.* Translated by Joost Coté, Elizabeth Riharti, and Markus Soema. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 32, no. 2 (1998): 97–141.

———. *Doenia-Pertjintaan: 101 Tjerita Jang Soenggoe Soedah Terdjadi di Tanah Priangan.* Makassar: Brouwer and Co., 1906.

———. "Satu Politik di Banyumas." In *Sang Pemula,* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1985. Originally published in *Medan Prijaji* 1909: 463–465.

———. "Semijong." *Medan Prijaji* 4, no. 9 (1910): 105–106.

———. *The Story of Nyai Ratna: Or, How a Faithful Wife Did Wrong. A Story That Really Happened in West Java.* Translated by Elisabeth Riharti, Joost Coté, and Markus Soema. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 32, no. 2 (1998): 45–95.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Remnants of Auschwitz.* New York: Zone Books, 2002.

———. *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture.* Translated by Ronald L. Martinez. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Ahmad, Abu Talib, and Tan Liok Ee, eds. *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History.* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003.

Ali, A. Wahab. *The Emergence of the Novel in Modern Indonesian and Malaysian Literature: A Comparative Study.* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991.

Anderson, Benedict. "Bung Karno and the Fossilization of Soekarno's Thought." *Indonesia* 74 (2002): 1–20.

———. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture." In *Language and Power.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.
———. "Language, Fantasy, Revolution: Java 1900–1950." In *Making Indonesia: Essays on Modern Indonesia in Honor of George McT. Kahin,* edited by Daniel S. Lev and Ruth McVey. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1996.
———, trans. and ed. "Perburuan 1950 and Keluarga Gerilya 1950." *Indonesia* 36 (1983): 25–48.
Anderson, Warwick, Deborah Jenson, and Richard C. Keller, eds. *Unconscious Dominions: Psychoanalysis, Colonial Trauma, and Global Sovereignties.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.
Antze, Paul. "The Other Inside: Memory as Metaphor in Psychoanalysis." In *Regimes of Memory,* edited by Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin. London: Routledge, 2003.
Antze, Paul, and Michael Lambek, eds. *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory.* New York: Routledge, 1996.
Apter, Emily S. *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
Apter, Emily S., and William Pietz, eds. *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
Ararat: Collector's Edition. Directed by Atom Egoyan. Montreal: Serendipity Point Films/EGO Film Arts, 2002.
Aristotle. *Poetics: A Translation and Commentary for Students of Literature.* Translated by Leon Golden with Commentary by O. B. Hardison Jr. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1982.
Armijn. *See* Pané
Axel, Brian Keith, ed. *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
Ayu. *See* Utami
"Ayu Utami tak Mampir de Kedai." *Pantau* 2, no. 20 (2001): 9–10. http://www.pantau.or.id/txt/20/06.html/.
Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin.* Edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.
Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.* Translated by Christine van Boheemen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
———. "The Song of the Sirens, or the Narrative of Disjunction." In *On Story-Telling: Essays in Narratology,* edited by David Jobling. Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1991.
———. "Wilde dieren, of de verscheurde eenheid: Over 'De sirenen' van Maria Dermoût." With Ernstjan van Alphen. In *Over verhalen gesproken.* Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1982.
Balibar, Etienne. "Citizen Subject." In *Who Comes after the Subject?* edited

by Eduardo Cadava, Peter Connor, and Jean-Luc Nancy. New York: Routledge, 1991.
Bandel, Katrin. "Heteronormalitas dan Falosentrisme Ayu Utami." *Kompas* (2005).
Barlow, Tani, ed. *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
Barlow, Tani, and Brian Hammer, eds. "War Capital Trauma." Special issue, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 16, no. 1 (2008).
Barthes, Roland. *The Pleasure of the Text.* Translated by Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1975.
Bastet, Frédéric. *Louis Couperus: Een biografie.* Amsterdam: Querido, 1987.
Becker, Alton L. *Beyond Translation: Essays Toward a Modern Philology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
Beekman, E. M. *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
———. *A Different Magic: What a Naturalist Taught a Novelist.* Pasadena: Mitra Publications Group, 2001.
———. *Troubled Pleasures: Dutch Colonial Literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Benda, H., and L. Castles. "The Samin Movement." *BKI* 125, no. 2 (1969): 207–240.
Benitez, J. Francisco B. "*Awit* and *Syair:* Alternative Subjectivities and Multiple Modernities in Nineteenth Century Insular Southeast Asia." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2004.
Benitez, J. Francisco B., and Laurie J. Sears. "Passionate Attachments to Area Studies and Asian American Studies: Subjectivity and Diaspora in the Transpacific." In *Transpacific Studies: Interventions and Intersections,* edited by Janet Hoskins and Viet Nguyen. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, forthcoming.
Benjamin, Walter. "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire." In *Illuminations,* edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
———. "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens.*" In *Illuminations,* edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
———. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" In *Illuminations,* edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
Bennet, Jane. *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
Bernheim, H. *Hypnosis and Suggestion in Psychotherapy: A Treatise on the Nature and Uses of Hypnotism.* Translated by Christian A. Herter. New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1964.

Bettelheim, Bruno. *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales.* New York: Random House, 1989.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Blackburn, Susan. *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia.* London: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Bodden, Michael, and Tineke Hellwig, eds. "Post-Soeharto Women's Writing and Cultural Production." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 41, no. 2 (2007): 1–204.

———. "Post-Soeharto Women's Writing and Cultural Production: Introduction." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 41, no. 2 (2007): 1–24.

Boedi Oetomo. *"Soembangsih": Gedenkboek Boedi Oetomo, 1908–1918.* Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Niew, 1918.

Bogaerts, Els. "De invloed van de Javaanse literatuur op het werk van Maria Dermoût: De *Babad Tanah Jawi,* het verhaal van Oyi en de Zuidzee." In *Indische literatuur* (Makalah Kongres Studi Belanda). Depok, Indonesia: Fakultas Sastra Universitas, 1995.

Booth, Wayne. *The Rhetoric of Fiction.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Borch-Jacobsen, Mikkel. *The Emotional Tie: Psychoanalysis, Mimesis, and Affect.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.

———. *The Freudian Subject.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

———. "The Freudian Subject, from Politics to Ethics." In *Who Comes after the Subject,* edited by Jean-Luc Nancy, Eduardo Cadava, and Peter Connor. New York: Routledge, 1991.

———. *Making Minds and Madness: From Hysteria to Depression.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

———. *Remembering Anna O.: A Century of Mystification.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

Borch-Jacobsen, Mikkel, and Shamdasani, Sonu. *The Freud Files: An Inquiry into the History of Psychoanalysis.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Bosch, F. D. K. "Bali en de zending." *Djawa* 1933.

Braak, Menno ter. "Tachtiger, meer dan tachtiger." In *Over Louis Couperus,* edited by Top Naeff et al. Amsterdam: De Samenwerkende Uitgevers, 1952.

Breman, Jan. *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and the Colonial Order in Southeast Asia.* Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Breuer, Josef, and Sigmund Freud. *Studies on Hysteria.* With Anna Freud, edited and translated by James Strachey. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Bruggencate, K. ten. *Engels woordenboek.* 19th ed. Edited by J. Gerritsen and N. E. Osselton, in collaboration with R. W. Zandvoort. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1986.

Bruyn Ouboter-Kist, Maria de. "Hart van mij: Brieven en teksten van Maria Dermoût." *Bzzlletin* 13, no. 127 (1985): 22–45.

Butler, Judith. *Giving an Account of Oneself.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2005.

———. *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Caruth, Cathy, ed. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chambert-Loir, Henri. "Menace sur Java: *La force silencieuse* de Louis Couperus (1900)." In *Rêver l'Asie: Exotisme et littérature coloniale aux Indes, en Indochine et en Insulinde,* edited by Denys Lombard, Catherine Champion, and Henri Chambert-Loir. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993.

Cheah, Pheng. *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Cheng, Anne Anlin. *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Coté, Joost, ed. and trans. *Realizing the Dream of R. A. Kartini: Her Sister's Letters from Colonial Java.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.

———. "Tirto Adhi Soerjo and the Narration of Indonesian Modernity, 1909–1912: An Introduction to Two Stories." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 32, no. 2 (1998): 1–43.

Couperus, Louis. *De boeken der kleine zielen.* 7th ed. Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen and Zoon N. V., n.d.

———. *The Book of Small Souls.* Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1932 [1914].

———. *Eastward.* Translated by J. Menzies-Wilson and C. C. Crispin. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924.

———. *Ecstasy*. Translated by A. Teixeira de Mattos and John Gray. London: Pushkin Press, 1998.

———. *Eline Vere.* Translated by J. T. Grein. New York: Appleton, 1892.

———. *Noodlot.* In *The Lion of Flanders,* edited by Henry Conscience. New York: P. F. Collier and Son, n.d.

———. *Old People and the Things That Pass.* Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1920.

———. *Van oude mensen, de dingen die voorbijgaan.* 19th ed. Amsterdam: L. J. Veen, 1979.

Crankshaw, Edward. *The Fall of the House of Habsburg.* New York: Penguin, 1983.

Cribb, Robert. "Problems in the Historiography of the Killings in Indonesia." In *The Indonesian Killings 1965–1966,* edited by Robert Cribb. Clayton, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1997.

Dahm, Bernhard. *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence.* Translated by Mary F. Somers Heidhues. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

de Lauretis, Teresa. *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature.* Translated by Dana Polan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Ritter von Sacher-Masoch. *Masochism.* New York: Urzone, 1989.

Dermoût, Maria. "Autobiografie." *Singel* 262 (1954): 23.

———. "The Cannon." In *Memory and Agony: Dutch Stories from Indonesia,* collected and introduced by Rob Nieuwenhuys, translated by Adrienne Dixon. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

———. *Donker van uiterlijk*. Amsterdam: Querido, 1965.

———. "De Vuurvliegen." In *Verzameld werk,* edited by Kester Freriks. Amsterdam: Querido, 1990.

———. *De kist.* In *Verzameld werk,* edited by Kester Freriks. Amsterdam: Querido, 1990.

———. *Nog pas gisteren.* Amsterdam: Querido, 1964.

———. "De sirenen." In *Verzameld werk,* edited by Kester Freriks. Amsterdam: Querido, 1990.

———. *The Ten Thousand Things.* Translated by Hans Koning. New York: Vintage Books, 1984.

———. *De tienduizend dingen.* 9th ed. Amsterdam: Querido, 1991.

———. "Toetie." In *Donker van uiterlijk.* Amsterdam: Querido, 1964.

———. *Verzameld werk.* Edited by Kester Freriks. Amsterdam: Querido, 1990.

———. *Yesterday.* Translated by Hans Koningsberger. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression.* Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

———. *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation.* Edited by Christie McDonald, translated by Peggy Kamuf. "Otobiographies" translated by Avital Ronell. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

Djajadiningrat-Niewenhuis, Madelon. "Noto Soeroto: His Ideas and the Late Colonial Intellectual Climate." *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 41–72.

Djojopoespito, Soegondo. "E. du Perron: Een vriend van de Indonesiërs." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 3, no. 13 (1940): 191.

———. "Koreksi atas Tjeramah Sdr. Abu Hanifah." *Budaja Djaja* 45 (1972): 80–85.

Djojopoespito, Soewarsih. *Buiten het gareel.* Utrecht: De Haan, 1940.

———. "Het eerste schooljaar." In *Indisch Letter Land: Verhalen uit twee eeuwen Nederlands-Indische literatuur,* edited by Robert-Henk Zuidinga. Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1987.
———. *Empat Serangkai: Kumpulan Tjerita Pendek.* Jakarta: Pustaka Rakyat, 1954.
———. "De Indonesisische vrouw en het passief kiesrecht." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 5 (1938): 75–76.
———. "In de schaduw van de Leider." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 4, no. 13 (1941): 191–192.
———. "In Memoriam E. du Perron." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 3, no. 13 (1940): 192–193.
———. *Manusia Bebas.* Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000.
———. *Marjanah.* Jakarta: Dinas Penerbitan Balai Pustaka, 1959.
———. *Maryati.* Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1982.
———. "Onze Moslim zusters in en buiten Indonesië." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 1, no. 18 (1938): 279–280.
———. *Riwayat Hidup Nabi Muhammad S.A.W.* Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1976.
———. *Siluman Karangkobar.* Jakarta: Pembangunan, 1963.
———. "De taal der Soendanese jongeren." *Kritiek and Opbouw* 1, no. 23 (1939): 348–350.
———. Untitled essay. *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, no. 6 (1940): 143–144.
Dolk, Liesbeth. *Twee zielen, twee gedachten: Tijdschriften en intellectuelen op Java (1900–1957).* Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993.
Dor, Joël. "The Value of the Linguistic Sign and Lacan's Anchoring Point." In *Introduction to the Reading of Lacan: The Unconscious Structured Like a Language,* edited by Judith Feher Gurewich with Susan Fairfield, translated by Susan Fairfield. New York: Other Press, 1998.
Echols, John M., and Hassan Shadily. *Kamus Indonesia-Inggeris*. 3rd ed. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994.
Egoyan, Atom. *Ararat: The Shooting Script.* New York: Newmarket Press, 2002.
Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks.* Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967. Originally published as *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952).
———. *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove Press, 1965.
Farid, Hilmar. "Indonesia's Original Sin: Mass Killings and Capitalist Expansion, 1965–66." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 3–16.
———. "Pramoedya's Buru Quartet." Paper presented at the fifth annual meeting of the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Kuala Lumpur, August 2007.
Felman, Shoshana, and Dori Laub. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History.* New York: Routledge, 1992.
Florida, Nancy. *Writing the Past: Inscribing the Future.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Foulcher, Keith. "Literature, Cultural Politics and the Indonesian Revolution." In *Text/Politics in Southeast Asia,* edited by D. M. Roskies. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993.

———. *On a Roll: Pramoedya and the Postcolonial Transition.* Indonesian Studies Working Paper 4. Sydney: University of Sydney 2008.

———. *Pujangga Baru: Literature and Nationalism in Indonesia 1933–1942.* Adelaide: Flinders University Asian Studies, 1980.

———. "A Survey of Events surrounding Manikebu: The Struggle for Cultural and Intellectual Freedom in Indonesian Literature." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 125, no. 4 (1969): 429–465.

Foulcher, Keith, and Tony Day, eds. *Clearing a Space: Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.

Frederick, William H. "Dreams of Freedom, Moments of Despair: Armijn Pané and the Imagining of Modern Indonesian Culture." In *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture,* edited by Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997.

Freriks, Kester. "Afterword." In *De tienduizend dingen,* by Maria Dermoût. Amsterdam: Querido, 1991.

———. *Geheim Indië: Het leven van Maria Dermoût 1888–1962.* Amsterdam: Querido, 2000.

———. "Tienduizend dingen zijn onvervuld gebeleven: Het allergeheimste dagboek van Maria Dermoût." *De parelduiker* 4, no. 5 (1999): 2–13.

Freud, Sigmund. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle.* Edited and translated by James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton, 1961.

———. "A Case of Successful Treatment by Hypnotism." In *Therapy and Technique,* ed. Philip Rieff and James Strachey. New York: Collier Books, 1963.

———. "Contribution to a Questionnaire on Reading." In *The Freud Reader,* edited by Peter Gay. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.

———. "Draft A." In *The Origins of Psycho-analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887–1902,* edited by Marie Bonaparte, Anna Freud, and Ernst Kris. New York: Basic Books, 1954.

———. "Family Romances." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 9: *Jensen's "Gradiva" and Other Works,* edited by James Strachey with Anna Freud et al., translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1959.

———. *The Freud Reader.* Edited by Peter Gay. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.

———. *The Interpretation of Dreams.* Edited and translated by James Strachey. New York: Avon Books, 1965.

———. "Mourning and Melancholia." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 14, edited and translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974.

———. "On Narcissism: An Introduction." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 14, edited and translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974.

———. *The Origins of Psycho-analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887–1902.* Edited by Marie Bonaparte, Anna Freud, and Ernst Kris, translated by Eric Mosbacher and James Strachey. New York: Basic Books, 1954.

———. *Therapy and Technique.* Edited by Philip Rieff, translated by James Strachey. New York: Collier Books, 1963.

Galsworthy, John. *The Forsyte Saga.* Edited by Geoffrey Harvey. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Gane, Nicholas. *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory: Rationalization versus Re-enchantment.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Geertz, Clifford. *Religion of Java.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Gikandi, Simon. "Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Nationalism." *CLIO: A Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History* 36, no. 1 (2006): 69–84.

Gilman, Sander. *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Goeverneur, J. J. A. *Reizen en avonturen van mijnheer Prikkebeen: Eene wonderbaarlijke en kluchtige historie.* http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/goev001reiz01_01/.

GoGwilt, Chris. "The Vanishing Genre of the *Nyai* Narrative: Reading Genealogies of English and Indonesian Modernism." *Comparative Literature Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 409–433.

Gouda, Francis. *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995.

Groen, P. M. H. "Ten Thousand Things and a Jeweled Hair-Comb as Historical Sources: Fiction or Fact?" In *Papers of the Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference,* vol. 2: *Literature and History,* edited by Taufik Abdullah. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986.

Groeneboer, Kees. *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia, 1600–1950: A History of Language Policy.* Translated by Myra Scholz. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998.

Guha, Ranajit. "Not at Home in Empire." *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1997).

Hacking, Ian. "Memory Sciences, Memory Politics." In *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory,* edited by Paul Antze and Michael Lambek. New York: Routledge, 1996.

———. *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Hadiz, Vedi R. "The Left and Indonesia's 1960s: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 554–569.

Hadiz, Vedi R., and Daniel Dhakidae, eds. *Social Science and Power in Indonesia.* Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2005.

Hadji Moekti. *See* Moekti

Haen, Theo D', ed. *Weerwerk: Schrijven en terugschrijven in koloniale en postkoloniale literaturen.* Semaian 15. Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1996.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory.* Translated by Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Hamilton, Carolyn, et al., eds. *Refiguring the Archive.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.

Haraway, Donna. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–599.

Harootunian, Harry. "Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem." *Boundary* 3, no. 2 (2005): 23–52.

Hatley, Barbara. "New Directions in Indonesian Women's Writing? The Novel *Saman.*" *Asian Studies Review* 23, no. 4 (1999): 449–460.

Hayward, Susan. *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts.* 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Heinschke, Martina. "Between Gelanggang and Lekra: Pramoedya's Developing Literary Concepts." *Indonesia* 61 (1996): 145–169.

Hellwig, Tineke. *Adjustment and Discontent: Representations of Women in the Dutch Indies.* Windsor, Ontario: Netherlandic Press, 1994.

———. *In the Shadow of Change: Women in Indonesian Literature.* Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1994.

Henchy, Judith. "Disciplining Knowledge: Representing Resources for Southeast Asian Studies in the Libraries of the U.S. Academy." In *Knowing Southeast Asian Subjects,* edited by Laurie J. Sears. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Heraty, Toeti. *Calon Arang: Kisah Perempuan Korban Patriarki: Prosa Lirik.* Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2000.

———. "Kata Pengantar Toeti Heraty." Introduction to *Manusia Bebas,* by Soewarsih Djojopoespito. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000.

Hering, B. B., ed. *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year.* Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995.

———. *Soekarno, Founding Father of Indonesia: A Biography.* Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 2003.

Herrnstein Smith, Barbara. "Narrative Versions, Narrative Theories." In *On Narrative,* edited by W. J. T. Mitchell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Hersri. *See* Setiawan

Heryanto, Ariel. "Can There Be Southeast Asians in Southeast Asian Studies?" In *Knowing Southeast Asian* Subjects, edited by Laurie J. Sears. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

———. *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally Belonging.* London: Routledge, 2006.

———. "Where Communism Never Dies: Violence, Trauma and Narration in the Last Cold War Capitalist Authoritarian State." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2 (1999): 147–177.

Heryanto, Ariel, and Sumit K. Mandal, eds. *Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia.* New York: Routledge/Curzon, 2003.

Hooker, Virginia Matheson. *Writing a New Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Houben, Vincent. "De Indo-aristocratie van Midden Java: De familie Dezentjé." In *Sporen van een Indisch verleden* (1600–1942), edited by Wim Willems. Leiden: Centrum voor Onderzoek van Maatschappelijke Tegenstellingen, Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Rijksuniversiteit, 1992.

Houtzager, Guus. *Het-een-én-het-ander.* Leiden: Dimensie, Stichting voor Letterkundige en Wettenschappelijke Uitgaven, 1991.

———. "Maria Dermoût's *De tienduizend dingen:* Technisch raffinement, tovenarij en taoisme." *Indische Letteren* 1 no. 2 (1986): 67–88.

Hughes, John. *Indonesian Upheaval.* New York: D. McKay Company, 1967.

Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Ingelson, John. *Road to Exile: The Indonesian Nationalist Movement, 1927–1934.* Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979.

Ivy, Marilyn. *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Jackson, Michael. *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002.

Jedamski, Doris. "Balai Pustaka: A Colonial Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." *Archipel* 44 (1992): 23–46.

———. "The Subjective Factor in Cultural Change: Between Political Strategies and Ethical Idea(l)s: D. A. Rinkes, a 'Marginal Man' in the Colonial Context." In *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Year,* edited by B. B. Hering. Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995.

Kahin, George McTurnan, and Audrey Kahin. *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.

Kartini, Raden Adjeng. *Brieven: Aan Mevrouw R. M. Abendanon-Mandri en haar echtgenoot.* Edited by Frits G. P. Jaquet. Dordrecht: Foris, 1987.

———. *Letters from Kartini: An Indonesian Feminist, 1900–1904.* Edited and translated by Joost Coté. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 1992.
———. *Letters of a Javanese Princess.* Translated by Agnes Louise Symmers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964. Originally published as *Voor duisternis tot licht: Gedachten over en voor het Javaansche volk* ('s-Gravenhage: N.V. Electrische Drukkerij "Luctor et Emergo," 1912).
———. *On Feminism and Nationalism: Kartini's Letters to Stella Zeehandelaar.* Edited and translated by Joost Coté. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 2005.
Khanna, Ranjana. *Algeria Cuts: Women and Representation, 1830 to the Present.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
———. *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism.* Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003.
Klinken, Gerry van. "The Battle for History after Suharto." In *Beginning to Remember,* edited by Mary S. Zurbuchen. Singapore: Singapore University Press and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
Koch, C. J. *The Year of Living Dangerously.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.
Koch, D. M. G. "In de marge: Kortzichtig beleid." *Kritiek en Opbouw* 4, no. 13 (1941): 185–186.
Koning, Hans. *Maria Dermout: De vrouw en de schrijfster.* s'Gravenhage: Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1973.
Koselleck, Reinhart. *The Practice of Conceptual History.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
Kritiek en Opbouw 1, no. 18 (1938): 279–280.
Künkel, Fritz, and J. C. Roose. *Karaktervorming door zelfopvoeding.* Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1964.
Lacan, Jacques. *Écrits: A Selection.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W. W. Norton, 1977.
———. "The Subversion of the Subject and the Dialectic of Desire in the Freudian Unconscious." In *Écrits: A Selection,* translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W. W. Norton, 1977.
LaCapra, Dominick. *Writing History, Writing Trauma.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
Laffan, Michael Francis. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds.* London: Routledge/Curzon, 2003.
Lane, Max. *Unfinished Nation: Indonesia before and after Suharto.* London: Verso, 2008.
Laplanche, Jean. *Essays on Otherness.* Edited and translated by John Fletcher. New York: Routledge, 1999.
———. *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis.* Translated by Jeffrey Mehlman. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
Laplanche, Jean, and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis. "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 49, no. 1 (1968): 1–18.

Originally published as "Fantasme originaire, fantasmes des origines, origine du fantasme." *Les temps modernes* 19, no. 215 (1964): 1833–1868.

———. *The Language of Psychoanalysis.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: W. W. Norton, 1973.

Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern.* Translated by Catherine Porter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Laub, Dori. "Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening." In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History,* by Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. New York: Routledge, 1992.

———. "On Holocaust Testimony and Its 'Reception' within Its Own Frame, as a Process in Its Own Right: A Response to 'Between History and Psychoanalysis' by Thomas Trezise." *History and Memory* 21, no. 1 (2009): 127–150.

Lauretis. *See* de Lauretis

Legge, J. D. *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia: A Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta.* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1988.

———. *Sukarno: A Political Biography.* New York: Praeger, 1972.

Lestari, Dewi. *Supernova.* Bandung: Truedee Books, 2001.

Lev, Daniel S., and Ruth McVey, eds. *Making Indonesia: Essays on Modern Indonesia in Honor of George McT. Kahin.* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1996.

Leys, Ruth. *Trauma: A Genealogy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Lindsay, Jennifer, ed. *Between Tongues: Translation and/of/in Performance in Asia*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006.

Lindsay, Jennifer, and Maya H. T. Liem, eds. *Heirs to World Culture: Being Indonesian 1950–1965.* Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 274. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012.

Lloyd, David. *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Locher-Scholten, E. B. "*Kritiek en Opbouw* (1938–1942): Een rode splinter." *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 89, no. 2 (1976): 202–228.

Louis Couperus Genootschap. Louiscouperus.nl: Website van het Louis Couperus Genootschap. http://www.louiscouperus.nl/.

Lulofs, Madelon H. *Coolie: "If Allah has ordained it thus . . . ?"* Translated by G. J. Renier and Irene Clephane. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Maier, Hendrik M. J. "Flying a Kite: The Crimes of Pramoedya Ananta Toer." In *Figures of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam,* edited by Vicente L. Rafael. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1999.

———. "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies." *Indonesia* 56 (1993): 37–66.

———. " 'Indische Literatuur': Bezinningen op een definitie." In *Weerwerk: Schrijven en terugschrijven in koloniale en postkoloniale literaturen,* edited by Theo D'haen. Semaian 15. Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1996.

———. *In the Center of Authority: The Malay "Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa."* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1988.

———. "Phew! Europeesche beschaving! Marco Kartodikromo's *Student Hidjo.*" *Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 184–210.

———. *We Are Playing Relatives.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004.

Mangoenkoesoemo, Tjipto. *Het Saminisme: Rapport uitgebracht aan de vereeniging "Insulinde."* Semarang, 1918.

Mann, Thomas. *Buddenbrooks.* Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1901.

Mansfield, Katherine. *Novels and Novelists by Katherine Mansfield.* Edited by Murray J. Middleton. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959 [1930].

Marching, Soe Tjen. "Descriptions of Female Sexuality in Ayu Utami's *Saman.*" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1 (February 2007): 133–146.

Marle, A. van. "De groep der Europeanen in Nederlands-Indië: Iets over ontstaan en groei." *Indonesië* 5, no. 2 (1955): 77–121; 5, no. 3 (1955): 314–341; and 5, no. 5 (1955): 481–507.

Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* vol. 1. Translated by Ben Fowkes. London: Penguin, 1976.

Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive,* edited by Carolyn Hamilton et al. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.

McVey, Ruth. "The Enchantment of the Revolution: History and Action in an Indonesian Communist Text." In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979.

———. "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening." *Indonesia* 4 (October 1967): 128–149.

Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized.* Translated by Howard Greenfeld. New York: Orion Press, 1965.

Memory and Agony: Dutch Stories from Indonesia. Collected by Rob Nieuwenhuys, translated by Adrienne Dixon. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

Moekti, Hadji. *Hikajat Siti Mariah.* Edited by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2003.

Mohamad, Goenawan. "The King's Witch." In "Silenced Voices: New Writing from Indonesia," edited by Frank Stewart and John McGlynn. Special issue, *Manoa* 12, no. 1 (2000).

Monroe, John. "Making the Seance 'Serious': Tables Tournantes and Second Empire Bourgeois Culture, 1853–1861." *History of Religions* 38 (1999).

Morton, Frederic. *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888–1889.* New York: Penguin, 1980.

Mrázek, Rudolf. *A Certain Age: Colonial Jakarta through the Memories of Its Intellectuals.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

———. *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

———. *Sjahrir: Politics and Exile in Indonesia.* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1994.

Mulder, E. T. "*Marjanah:* Roman Sunda Hoholanan." Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1996.

Multatuli. *Max Havelaar: or, The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company.* Edited and translated by Roy Edwards. New York: London House and Maxwell, 1967.

Murray, Martin J. *The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Indochina (1870–1940).* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Naeff, Top, et al., eds. "Bij de verzamelde werken van Louis Couperus." In *Over Louis Couperus.* Amsterdam: De Samenwerkende Uitgevers, 1952.

Nandy, Ashis. *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Nieuwenhuys, Rob. *Mirror of the Indies: A History of Dutch Colonial Literature.* Edited by E. M. Beekman, translated by Frans van Rosevelt. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982.

———. *De Oost-Indische Spiegel.* Amsterdam: Querido, 1972.

Noorduyn, J. "*Marjanah,* de Soendase roman van Soewarsih Djojopoespito." In *Indisch-Nederlandse literatuur: Dertien bijdragen voor Rob Nieuwenhuys,* edited by Reggie Baay and Peter van Zonneveld. Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1988.

Norindr, Panivong. *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

Oei, Thomas Paulus Tjoe Tat. *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat: Pembantu Presiden Soekarno.* Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1995.

Ong, Walter. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* London: Methuen, 1982.

On the Record: Indonesian Literary Figures. Vol. 1. DVD. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation, 2004.

Ouboter-Kist, Maria de Bruyn. "Hart van mij: Brieven en teksten van Maria Dermoût." *Bzzlletin* 13, no. 127 (1985): 22–45.

Pané, Armijn. *Belenggoe. Poedjangga Baroe* 7, nos. 10–12 (1940).

———. "Berdjalin Tangan." *Poedjangga Baroe* 3, no. 12 (1936): 336–339.

———. "Gamelan tegenover krontjong, droom tegenover werkelijkheid." *Poedjangga Baroe* 9, no. 1 (1941): 9–30.

———. *Kort overzicht van de moderne Indonesische literatuur.* Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1949.
———. *Shackles*. Translated by John McGlynn. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985.
———. "Het verlangen naar geluk in de modern gedichten." *Bangoen* 1, no. 1 (1937): 5–6.
Pattynama, Pamela. "Secrets and Danger: Interracial Sexuality in Louis Couperus's *The Hidden Force* and Dutch Colonial Culture around 1900." In *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism,* edited by Julia Clancy-Smith and Francis Gouda. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
Perron, Edgar du. *County of Origin.* Edited by E. M. Beekman, translated by Francis Bulhof and Elizabeth Daverman. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984. Originally published as *Het land van herkomst.* Amsterdam: Querido, 1935.
———. Introduction to *Buiten het gareel,* by Soewarsih Djojopoespito. Utrecht: De Haan, 1940.
———. "Pertimbangan Boekoe, *Belenggoe*, oleh Armijn Pane." *Poedjangga Baroe* 8, nos. 6, 7 (1940, 1941): 130–152, 171–178.
Pols, Hans. "The Development of Psychiatry in Indonesia: From Colonial to Modern Times." *International Review of Psychiatry* 18, no. 4 (2006): 363–370.
———. "The Nature of the Native Mind: Contested Views of Dutch Colonial Psychiatrists in the Former Dutch East Indies." In *Psychiatry and Empire,* edited by Sloan Mahone and Megan Vaughan. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
Povinelli, Elizabeth A. *The Empire of Love.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
Pramoedya. *See* Toer
Prampage. Webmastered by Alex G. Bardsley. http://sites.google.com/site/pramoedyasite/home.
Pringgodigdo, Soewarni. "Du Perron dan Pengaruhnja terhadap Kaum Intelek Indonesia 1936–1939." *Pudjangga Baru* 13, nos. 1–2 (1951): 32–33.
———. "Du Perron-Sjahrir." *Sikap* 33, no. 8 (1951): 7.
Radstone, Susannah. "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics." *Paragraph* 30, no. 1 (2007): 9–29.
Radstone, Susannah, and Katharine Hodgkin, eds. *Regimes of Memory.* London: Routledge, 2003.
Rafael, Vicente L. "Mimetic Subjects: Engendering Race at the Edge of Empire." *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (1995): 127–149.
———. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
Rand, Nicholas. "Family Romance or Family History? Psychoanalysis and Dramatic Invention in Nicolas Abraham's 'The Phantom of Hamlet.' " *Diacritics* 18, no. 4 (1988): 20–30.

Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300.* 2nd ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Robinson, Geoffrey. *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Roosa, John. *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.

Roosa, John, and Ayu Ratih. "Solipsism or Solidarity: The Nation, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Salman Rushdie." *Economic and Political Weekly,* July 14, 2001: 2681–2688.

Roosa, John, Ayu Ratih, and Hilmar Farid. *Tahun yg tak Pernah Akhir: Memahami Pengalaman Korban 65; Esai-Esai Sejarah Lisan.* Jakarta: Elsam, 2004.

Rose, Jacqueline. *Sexuality in the Field of Vision.* London: Verso, 1986.

———. *States of Fantasy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Rosevelt, Frans van. "The Character of Professor McNeil in Maria Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things.*" *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): 38–41.

Roth, Michael. "Hysterical Remembering." *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 2 (1996): 1–30.

Rumphius, G. E. *Het Amboinsche kruidboek.* 7 vols. Amsterdam, Den Haag, and Utrecht, 1741–1755.

———. *D'Amboinsche rariteitkamer.* Amsterdam: Francois Halma, 1705. Translated by E. M. Beekman as *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Rutherford, Danilyn. "Unpacking a National Heroine." *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 23–40.

Ryter, Loren. "Youth, Gangs, and the State in Indonesia." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2002.

Sabarini, Podita. "Ayu Atami: A Balancing Act." *Jakarta Post,* September 1, 2010. http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/09/01/ayu-utami-a-balancing-act.html.

Sajoga. "Riwajat Perdjuangan Taman-Siswa 1922–1952." In *Taman Siswa 30 Tahun.* Jogjakarta: Majelis Luhur Taman Siswa, n.d.

Salleh, Muhammad Haji. *Narrating Nestapa: Early Malay Aesthetics of Sorrow.* Leiden: Rijks Universiteit, 1993.

Salmon, Claudine. *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Preliminary Annotated Bibliography.* Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981.

Sanford, John A. "Fritz Künkel: Alive Today." *Inward Light* 46, no. 100 (1984), http://fcrp.quaker.org/InwardLight100/100Reviews.html.

Santner, Eric L. *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Santoso, Maria Ullfah. Letter to the editor. *Kritiek and Opbouw* 1, no. 8 (1938): 127–128.

Sastrowardoyo, Subagio. *Sastra Hindia Belanda dan Kita.* Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka, 1983.

Scherer, Savitri Prastiti. "Harmony and Dissonance: Early Nationalist Thought in Java." Master's thesis, Cornell University, 1975. Published in Indonesian as *Keselarasan dan Kejanggalan, Pemikiran-Pemikiran Priayi Nasionalis Jawa Awal Abad XX.* Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1985.

Schoolfield, George C. *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980 [1961].

Sears, Laurie J., ed. *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths.* Southeast Asia Series. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1993.

———, ed. *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

———, ed. *Knowing Southeast Asian Subjects.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

———. "Modernity and Decadence in *Fin-de-Siècle* Fiction of the Dutch Empire." *Indonesia* 90 (2010): 97–124.

———. "Reading Ayu Utami: Notes Toward a Study of Trauma and the Archive in Indonesia." *Indonesia* 83 (2007): 17–40.

———. *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

See, Maria Sarita. "An Open Wound: Colonial Melancholia and Contemporary Filipino/American Texts." In *Vestiges of War 1899–1999: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream,* edited by Angel Shaw and Luis Francia. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Setiawan, Hersri. "Art and Entertainment in the New Order's Jails." Translated by Keith Foulcher. *Indonesia* 59 (1995): 1–20.

Shackford Bradley, Julie. "Wise Spirits: The Limits of Modernity in Suwarsih Djojopuspito's *Siluman Karangkobar.*" *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (RIMA)* 35, no. 1 (2001): 1–41.

Shadow Play. [Documentary.] Directed and produced by Chris Hilton. New York: Hilton-Cordell/ Vagabond Films and Thirteen/WNET, 2002.

Shiraishi, Takashi. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

———. "Reading Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Sang Pemula*." *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 129–139.

Siegel, James T. *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

———. *Naming the Witch.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

———. *A New Criminal Type in Jakarta.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
Silverman, Kaja. *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
———. *Male Subjectivity at the Margins.* New York: Routledge, 1992.
Sjahrir, Soetan. *Indonesische overpeinzingen.* Amsterdam: Bezige Bij, 1945.
———. *Out of Exile.* Edited and translated by Allen Nevins and John A. Krout. New York: The John Day Company, 1949.
Sneddon, James. *The Indonesian Language: Its History and Role in Modern Society.* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003.
Snoek, Kees. "De Indische jaren van E. du Perron." Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1990.
———. "Een Indische jongen met het bloed van een d'Artagnan: De herkomst van E. du Perron." In *Indisch-Nederlandsche literatuur: Dertien bijdragen voor Rob Nieuwenhuys,* edited by R. Baay and P. van Zonneveld. Utrecht: HES Uitgevers B.V., 1988.
Soekarno, Achmad. *Amanat Bung Karno: Tahun "Vivere Pericoloso."* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Kendi, 2003.
———. *Dibawah Bendera Revolusi, Djilid Pertama.* 3rd ed. Jakarta: Panitya Penerbit Dibawah Bandera Revolusi, 1964.
———. *Indonesia Accuses! Soekarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930.* Edited and translated by Roger K. Paget. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975.
———. *Marhaen and the Proletarian.* Translated by Claire Holt. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1960.
———. *Nationalism, Islam and Marxism.* Translated by Karel H. Warouw and Peter Weldon. Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, 1969.
Soekarno, Achmad, and Cindy Heller Adams. *Sukarno: An Autobiography as Told to Cindy Adams.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965.
Soewarsih. *See* Djojopoespito
Sommer, Doris. *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a Discipline.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
Spyer, Patricia, ed. *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces.* New York: Routledge, 1998.
———. *The Memory of Trade: Modernity's Entanglements on an Eastern Indonesian Island.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
Steedman, Carolyn. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002.
Stewart, Susan. *On Longing.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
Stoler, Ann L. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

———. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
———. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87–109.
———. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form." In *Refiguring the Archive,* edited by Carolyn Hamilton et al. Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.
———. "On the Uses and Abuses of the Past in Indonesia: Beyond the Mass Killings of 1965." *Asian Survey* 42, no. 4 (2002): 642–650.
———. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
Stoler, Ann L., Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue, eds. *Imperial Formations.* Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2007.
Stoler, Ann L., and Karen Strassler. "Castings for the Colonial: Memory Work in 'New Order' Java: A Cautionary Tale." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 1 (2000): 4–48.
Sutherland, Heather. *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi.* Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979.
Sweeney, Amin. *A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
Székely-Lulofs, Madelon H. *Rubber.* Translated by G. J. Renier and Irene Clephane. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988.
Taussig, Michael. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
Taylor, Charles. "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism,* edited by Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
Taylor, Jean Gelman. "Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film." In *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia,* edited by Laurie J. Sears. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
———. "Once More Kartini." In *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Honor of John R. W. Smail,* edited by Laurie J. Sears. Madison: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993.
———. *The Social World of Batavia.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
Teeuw, A. "Een buitenbeentje in de literatuurgeschiedenis." *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 163–166.
———. *Modern Indonesian Literature I.* 3rd ed. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.
———. *Modern Indonesian Literature II.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979.
Termorshuizen, Gerard. "Les Eurasiens dan la littérature des Indes Néerlandaises: Portrait d'un préjugé racial." In *Rêver l'Asie: Exotisme et littérature coloniale*

aux Indes, en Indochine et en Insulinde, edited by Denys Lombard et al. Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993.
———. "Een leven in isolement." *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 167–172.
———. "A Life Free from Trammels: Soewarsih Djojpoespito and Her Novel *Buiten het gareel.*" *Canadian Journal of Nederlandic Studies* 12, no. 1 (1991): 30–37.
———. "Soewarsih Djojopoespito: Cibatok 20 april 1912–Yogyakarta 24 augustus 1977." In *Jaarboek van de maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde te Leiden* (1978–1979), 39–48.
———. "Van hoer tot heldin: Het nyai-motief in enkele romans van Pramoedya Ananta Toer en P. A. Daum." *Indische Letteren* 9 (1994): 103.
Tichelman, Fritjof. "Early Emancipation and Ethnic Relations on Java." In *Pramoedya Ananta Toer: 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year,* edited by B. B. Hering. Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995.
Tirto. *See* Adhi Soerjo
Tiwon, Sylvia. *Breaking the Spell: Colonialism and Literary Renaissance in Indonesia.* Semaian 18. Leiden: University of Leiden, 1999.
Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Fantastic.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
Toer, Pramoedya Ananta. *Anak Semua Bangsa.* Kuala Lumpur: Wira Karya, 1982.
———. "Bukan Pasar Malam." Translated by William Watson as "It's Not an All Night Fair." Indonesia, 15 (1973): 21–79.
———. *Bumi Manusia.* Kuala Lumpur: Wira Karya, 1981.
———. *Child of All Nations.* Translated by Max Lane. New York: Morrow, 1993.
———. *House of Glass.* Translated by Max Lane. New York: Penguin, 1992.
———. *Jejak Langkah.* Kuala Lumpur: Wira Karya, 1986. Translated by Max Lane as *Footsteps.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.
———. *The King, the Witch, and the Priest.* Translated by Willem Samuels. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, Asia, 2001.
———. "Ma'af, Atas Nama Pengalaman." *Kabar Seberang* 23 (1992): 1–9.
———. *Menggelinding I.* Edited by Astuti Ananta Toer. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2004.
———. "Perburuan 1950 and Keluarga Gerilya 1950." Edited and translated by Benedict Anderson. *Indonesia* 36 (October 1983): 25–48.
———. *Rumah Kaca: Sebuah Roman Sejarah.* Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1988.
———. *Sang Pemula.* Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1985.
———, ed. *Tempo Doeloe: Antologi Sastra Pra-Indonesia.* Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1982.
———. *This Earth of Mankind.* Translated by Max Lane. New York: Morrow, 1991.

Trezise, Thomas. "Between History and Psychoanalysis: A Case Study in the Reception of Holocaust Survivor Testimony." *History and Memory* 20, no. 1 (2008): 7–47.

Utami, Ayu. *Bilangan Fu*. Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2008.

———. *Larung.* Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2001.

———. *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa.* Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2010.

———. *Saman.* 2nd ed. Jakarta: Kapustakaan Populer Gramedia, 1998.

———. *Sidang Susila: Naskah Komedi.* Jakarta: Spasi and VHR Book, 2008.

———. "Writing as Negating." Paper presented at IWP panel "Why I Write What I Write," Iowa City Public Library, October 26, 2005. http://www.uiowa.edu/~iwp/EVEN/documents/Utami_Why_I_write.pdf.

Valentijn, François. *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën.* Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2002 (1724–1726).

Vergès, Françoise. *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and Métissage.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.

Vissers, Leo. *De harpe amoret: Een studie over de verhalencyclus "De Tienduizend Dingen" van Maria Dermoût.* 2nd ed. Roosendaal: De Goudvis, 1995.

Vuyk, Beb. "Op bezoek bij Soewarsih." *Vrij Nederland* 7, no. 26 (1947): 9.

Watson, C. W. "Plus Ça Change . . . ? A Comparison of Two Indonesian Feminist Novels: Suwarsih Djojopuspito's *Maryati* and Istiah Marzuki's *Sundus.*" *Indonesia and the Malay World* 33, no. 95 (2005): 67–85.

———. "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature." *BKI* 127, no. 4 (1971): 417–433.

Weber, Max. "Science as a Vocation." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* edited and translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Weiner, Margaret. "Hidden Forces: Colonialism and the Politics of Magic in the Netherlands Indies." In *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment,* edited by Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Wertheim, W. F. "Pramoedya as Historian." In *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta's Toer's 70th Year,* edited by B. B. Hering. Stein, Netherlands: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995.

Wieringa, Saskia Eleonora. "The Politics of Gender Relations in Indonesia: The Indonesian Women's Movement until the New Order State." Ph.D diss., University of Amsterdam, 1995.

———. *Sexual Politics in Indonesia.* Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Woude, Johan van der. *Maria Dermoût: De vrouw en de schrijfster.* 's-Gravenhage and Rotterdam: Nijgh and Van Ditmar, 1973.

Yampolsky, Philip. Liner notes for *Music of Indonesia Series,* vol. 2: *Indonesian Popular Music—Kroncong, Dangdut, and Langgam Jawa.* SFW CD 40056. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways, 1991.

Yang, Hyunah. "Finding the 'Map of Memory': Testimony of the Japanese Military Sexual Slavery Survivors." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 16, no. 1 (2008), 79–107.

The Year of Living Dangerously. Directed by Peter Weir. Australia: New Wave Films, 1982.

Yoder, Hilda van Neck, " 'So That It Will Not Happen All Over Again': Narrative Technique in Maria Dermoût's *The Ten Thousand Things.*" In *Contemporary Explorations in the Culture of the Low Countries,* edited by William Z. Shetter and Inge Van der Cruysse. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996.

Yusuf, Nova Riyanti. *Mahadewa, Mahadewi.* Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2003.

Zaretsky, Eli. *Secrets of the Soul: A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis.* New York: Vintage Books, 2004.

Žižek, Slavoj. *The Plague of Fantasies.* London: Verso, 1997.

———. *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Zuidinga, Robert-Henk, ed. Indische Letterland: Verhalen uit twee eeuwen Nederlands-Indisch lieratuur. Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1987.

———. "Soewarsih Djojopoespito, E. du Perron en de roman *Buiten het gareel.*" *Indische Letteren* 1, no. 4 (1986): 158.

Zurbuchen, Mary, ed. *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

———. "Historical Memory in Contemporary Indonesia." In *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present,* edited by Mary Zurbuchen. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

Index

Bold page numbers refer to figures.

Abraham, Nicolas, 8, 17, 18, 22, 38, 48, 49, 84, 90–91, 193, 207
actief kiesrecht (active suffrage), 137, 275
Adams, Cindy Heller, 154–155, 261n73
Adhi Soerjo, Tirto, **57**; biography, 62–63; *Busono*, 62–63, 65–68, 69, 86, 237n45; "Buying Another Man's Wife," 64–65; comparison to Couperus, 51–52, 71, 85–86; death, 68, 171, 210; education, 57, 207; in exile, 52, 63, 64, 68, 70, 86, 210; family, 56, 57; influence, 70–71; language used, 14, 52, 54, 55–56, 70; life of, 52, 56, 57–58, 68–69, 207; mental breakdown, 68–69, 86; nation and, 62; newspaper essays, 52, 86; newspapers, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 68, 70, 71, 236n36, 237n45; novellas, 7–8, 9, 86; "*Oleh-oleh dari Tempat Pembuangan*" (Souvenirs from Exile), 68; phantoms and phantasies in works, 52, 62–68, 69–70, 85–86; politics, 52, 62, 236n37; short stories, 63–65; similarities to Pramoedya, 266n32; *Story of Nyai Ratna* (*Tjerita Njai Ratna*), 58, 59–62, 65, 69–70; "The Yellow Devil," 63–64, 65, 69–70; wives, 238n51; works translated by Pramoedya, 63. See also *Buru Quartet*
affects, 6, 275
afterwardsness: definition, 275; enigmatic signifiers, 3–4; Laplanche on, 1, 2, 4–5; in writing, 173, 181, 197, 209–210
agency, 189, 190, 196, 203
agencyless subjects, 180, 204, 275
Ambon, 25–26, 27–29, 33, 36, 86, 210, 225n38
anchoring points: absence, 12; definition, 275; in Dermoût's works, 21; Lacan's upholstery button, 13, 219n31, 244n8; Soekarno in *Buiten het gareel*, 15, 104, 109, 118, 155; suitcase of dreams, 169; translating, 206
Anderson, Benedict, 212, 226n49
angst, 8–9, 81, 275
anticommunist massacres (1965–1966): dispersed, 161; impact, 174; in novels, 184–185; repressed memories, 160, 161, 178, 267n3; survivors, 5, 15–16, 161, 162
antimimetic model of trauma, 204, 206, 241n85, 275
aporias, 18, 84, 85, 275
Ararat (Egoyan), 10–11, 12–13
archives: destroyed, 6–7, 16, 162, 170, 172; Dutch Indies Letters, 20, 29, 54; historical, 174–175; of New Order regime, 176–177; political construction, 2, 6; of Pramoedya, 58, 162, 164, 170, 171, 172, 205; reconstruction, 162–164; secrets in, 174–175, 206; writers' explorations, 161
area studies, 212
Armenian genocide, 10–11, 12
Asbeck, Baron Frederik van, 45–46

Bakhtin, M. M., 20
Balai Poestaka (Committee for Popular Literature), 55, 92, 93, 95, 97, 275
Balai Poestaka Malay, 55, 122, 275

Barlow, Tani, 18–19
Beekman, E. M., 36
Belenggoe (Shackles; Pané): comparison to *Buiten het gareel*, 121, 122, 128–136, 148–149; critiques, 146–147; ending, 128; gender relations, 121; main characters and plot, 122–128, 147, 208; modernism, 122; narrative voice, 126; phantasies and phantasms, 148; realism, 122
Benjamin, Walter, 4, 37, 206, 222n21
Bernheim, Hippolyte, 53, 78, 79
beschaving, 103–104, 138, 275
Bhairawa Cakra, 199–200, 272n54, 275–276
Bilangan Fu (The Fu Numeral; Utami), 178, 196–201, 266n1
Bintang Hindia (Indies Star), 64, 237n42
blijvers (settlers), 45–46, 275, 280
Books of Small Souls, The (*De boeken der kleine zielen*; Couperus), 71–75; class differences, 73, 77; description of Batavia, 58–59; *Dr. Adriaan*, 71, 72, 77, 78–80, 207–208; influence of French psychologists, 53; native characters, 74, 83; sexual degeneracy, 81, 85; *The Twilight of the Souls* (*Zielenschemering*), 73–75, 77, 81, 239n67; weather trope, 72–73, 76–77; writing of, 76, 78, 239n64
Borch-Jacobsen, Mikkel, 171, 215n7, 217n20, 231n6, 241n83, 242nn86–87, 265n26, 265n29
bourgeoisie, 73, 77, 100–101, 130–131, 132, 133
bourgeois nationalism, 134–135, 136
Breuer, Josef, 50, 53, 54, 76, 78
buaja/buaya (mixed-blood scoundrels), 66, 275
Buiten het gareel (Free from Restraints; Soewarsih Djojopoespito): autobiographical elements, 88, 93–94, 110–111, 117; comparison to *Belenggoe*, 121, 122, 128–136, 148–149; Dutch language use, 87, 92, 97; ending, 149; family relationships, 108–109; feminist politics, 15, 94, 102, 105–108, 110, 116–117, 118–119; gender relations, 101, 136; Indonesian translation, 15, 91, 92, 97, 98; influence of du Perron, 91, 92–93, 97; introduction by du Perron, 98, 101, 102–103; main characters and plot, 95–97, 98–101, 103–110, 111–112, 114–116, 211; mystical elements, 101; narrative voice, 95, 133–134; as neurotic family romance, 88–89; publication, 91, 92, 93; realism and fantasy, 95, 148–149; romantic atmosphere, 102; sexuality, 108, 112, 115, 208; sister relationship, 106, 109–111, 116; Soekarno as anchoring point, 15, 104, 109, 118, 155; Soekarno references, 91, 102–104, 129, 158; themes, 90, 96, 99, 102; West Java setting, 132–133; writing of, 94
Bupati (Regents), 56, 57, 82–83, 86, 275
Bureau of Popular Literature. *See* Balai Poestaka
Buru Island prison, 161, 162–164, 171, 172, 204–205, 209
Buru Quartet (Toer): afterwardsness, 209–210; authorial complexity, 172–173; *Child of All Nations*, 169; as critique of New Order, 165; female characters, 164; *Footsteps*, 164, 166, 169; journeys, 169; narrative voices, 162, 166, 172–173; phantoms and

phantasms, 86, 161–162; suitcase of dreams, 169–171, 203; *This Earth of Mankind*, 164, 169; Tirto Adhi Soerjo character, 14, 161–162, 164–165, 166–167, 169–170, 172, 173, 209–210; writing of, 16, 162–164, 172, 209, 210–211. See also *House of Glass*
Busono (Adhi Soerjo), 62–63, 65–68, 69, 86, 237n45

Cakrabirawa, 199–200, 272n53, 275–276
Calonarang story, 185, 271n42
capital, 61, 62, 67, 127, 128, 129, 173
capitalism, 18, 47, 150, 173–174
cathartic method, 78, 276
Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 69, 71, 97–98
Charcot, Jean-Martin, 4, 53, 77–78, 79
Cheah, Pheng, 16, 173–174
Cheng, Anne Anlin, 180–181, 183
Chinese Malay literature, 19–20, 122
chronotopes, 20
class differences: among women, 138; elites in Indies, 56, 57, 82–83, 86; in Europe, 73, 77, 83; progressive views of, 100–101. *See also* bourgeoisie; Javanese nobility
colonialism, 118. *See also* Dutch Indies
colonial modernity: ambiguities, 109; ambivalence, 124, 132; anxiety and, 8–9; definition, 276; desire and, 70, 128–129; in Dutch Indies, 8–9, 14, 18; gaps, 84–85; imperial field and, 18–19; languages, 97–98; time and, 84–86; Tirto Adhi Soerjo and, 238n60
Commissie voor de Volkslectuur. *See* Balai Poestaka
commodities, 40, 129. *See also* fetishes
Communists. *See* Indonesian Communist Party
Coté, Joost, 61
Couperus, Louis, **51**; comparison to Tirto Adhi Soerjo, 51–52, 71, 85–86; as decadent writer, 51; on degenerative effects of empire, 81–84; effeminacy, 51, 231n4; family, 50; *Haagsche romans*, 7, 8, 13–14, 50–51, 73; *The Hidden Force* (*De stille kracht*), 50, 71, 73, 80, 81, 83, 85; on Indonesian natives, 82–83; life of, 9, 51, 76; novels, 73, 239n68; *Old People and Things That Pass Them By* (Van oude mensen, de dingen, die voorbij gaan), 51, 73, 80–81, 83, 160–161; phantoms and phantasies in works, 9, 81–84, 85; time spent in Indies, 50, 73, 76; trauma and hypnosis discourse in novels, 53–54; travel essays, 81–82; weather trope, 84. See also *Books of Small Souls*
creoles, 74, 83, 84, 276
Cribb, Robert, 160
critical path, 196, 200, 201, 202, 212
critical spirituality, 178, 199, 200–201, 206
Cultural Manifesto. *See* Manikebu
cultural nationalists, 140, 142
culture: Indonesian, 142–145, 148; psyche and, 143; Western influences, 144, 145
curiosities cabinet, 21, 36–37

declarative memory, 4, 203, 206, 276
deferred action. See *Nachträglichkeit*
Deleuze, Gilles, 55–56, 70–71, 194
Dermoût, Isaac J., **34**, 45–46, 225n38, 229n80
Dermoût, Maria, **34**; chronotopes, 20; colonial critique, 9, 21–22, 24, 31,

46, 47, 48; Couperus and, 8, 81; desire in works, 21, 24–25, 26–27, 29, 32, 33, 37, 39; imperial field in works, 21; life of, 13, 21, 45–46, 225n38, 229n80; losses, 13, 21, 48; memory in works, 20, 38; *Only Yesterday* (*Nog pas gisteren*), 7, 19, 22–25, 46–47, 221n11; on past, 17, 44–45; phantoms and phantasies in works, 9, 22, 23, 25, 43, 49; politics, 21, 46; on race, 31, 45, 48; repetition technique, 20, 24; short stories, 224n26, 227n53; son, 21, 229n80; *tempo doeloe* in works, 3, 13, 49. See also *Ten Thousand Things*
desire: in Armijn Pané's work, 123–124, 128; bourgeois, 130–131; colonial, 36; colonial modernity and, 70, 128–129; in Couperus' works, 85; in Dermoût's works, 21, 24–25, 26–27, 29, 32, 33, 37, 39; documentary, 183, 276; material, 39, 40; melancholic, 39; of natives, 33, 34–36, 37; secret, 75; subject of, 171–172; transnational discourse, 197. *See also* fetishes; sexuality
desubjectivized form, 180, 276
dewa-dewi (gods), 153, 276
Dewantara, Ki Hadjar, 90, 144
dhalang/dalang (puppeteer), 154, 276
Djojopoespito, Soegondo, 94–95, 120, 140, 141–142, 246n19
Djojopoespito, Soewarsih, **89**; on *Belenggoe*, 146–147; education, 93, 98, 121, 122; enchantments, 9; essays, 136–142, 145–147, 158; family, 88, 93, 111; feminist politics, 120–121, 137–138; languages, 92, 121–122, 247n26; life of, 93, 94–95; *Manusia Bebas*, 88; *Marjanah*, 92–93, 245nn13–14; *Maryati*, 93, 120; nationalism, 140–142, 148, 149, 155–156; relationship with sister, 88, 93, 110–111; *Siluman Karangkobar* (The Spirit of Karangkobar), 120–121, 157; writings, 120–121, 255n30. See also *Buiten het gareel*
documentary desires, 183, 276
doubling, 161–162, 164–169, 170–171, 173, 178, 190, 192
Dr. Adriaan (Couperus), 71, 72, 77, 78–80, 207–208
dream-work, 180, 276. *See also* secondary revision
dukun (shaman, healer), 64, 66, 69, 135, 198, 237n48, 276
du Perron, Edgar. *See* Perron, Edgar du
Dutch Indies: colonial modernity, 9, 14, 18; history, xxiii–xxv, 220n7; Japanese invasion, 44, 122, 156; patriarchy, 107–108; status categories, 220n10
Dutch Indies government: authority, 14; censorship, 66, 141; criticism, 141; Dutch administrators, 46, 56, 85, 165, 232n12; ethnic policies, 71; governors general, 52, 57–58, 72, 242n91; hierarchy, 57, 236n37; language used, 55; Liberal Period, 24; native bureaucrats, 27–33, 56, 108, 165, 166–169, 227n55, 234n22, 236n37; newspapers controlled, 65–66; offices, 58
Dutch Indies Letters (Indische Letteren), 20, 29, 30, 50, 54, 87
Dutch language, 94, 97, 98, 121–122. See also *Buiten het gareel*
Dutch-language education: effects, 85, 132; of elites, 56–57, 90; influence on nationalism, 122, 139–140; at STOVIA (medical school), 57, 65, 234n22; of women, 66–67, 87, 93, 98

Dutch residents of Indies: *blijvers* (settlers), 45–46, 275, 280; lack of recognition of nationalists, 45–46, 134; population, 229n83; in postcolonial Indonesia, 44; racial degeneration, 14, 54, 83, 84, 85, 86; racial views, 45; *totok* (pure), 45, 146, 280; *trekkers*, 45, 280. *See also* Natives, Dutch views of

echoes, 18, 84, 86. *See also* memory; phantoms; repetition
education: Kartini Schools, 93, 246n16; material benefits, 132; in New Order period, 201; Taman Siswa schools, 89–90, 95, 99–101, 144, 145, 246n19; wild schools, 94–95, 246n19; of women, 66–67, 93, 98. *See also* Dutch-language education
Egoyan, Atom, *Ararat*, 10–11, 12–13
*elmoe*s (magical powers): beliefs, 82, 86; in colonial period, 9–10; definition, 276; effects, 84, 85, 207, 208, 211; fear of, 83; phantasies and, 8
Emmerson, Don, 212
enchantments, 9–10, 16, 41, 69, 86
enigmatic signifiers, 3–4, 213, 276
ethnography, 182–183
Eurasians, 146. *See also* Indos; Perron, Edgar du

Fakkel, De (The Torch), 143–145, 258n48
family romances (family narratives): in colonial context, 19; definition, 276; as family histories, 18; Freud on, 89, 90, 117; of Indonesian nation, 156; nationalist movement as, 91, 94, 96; neurotic, 88–89, 90, 94, 117; phantoms, 18; of revolutions, 89, 90, 117; secrets, 18. See also *Buiten het gareel*
Fanon, Frantz, 88, 118
fantasies. *See* phantasies
fantasmatique. *See* phantasmatic
Farid, Hilmar, 16, 162, 171, 174, 210
feminist politics: in *Buiten het gareel*, 15, 94, 102, 105–108, 110, 116–117, 118–119; of Soewarsih, 120–121, 137–138. *See also* Utami, Ayu; women's movement
fetishes, 21, 25, 36–37, 40, 41
focalization, 254n15, 276
French Revolution, 89, 90, 117, 151
Freud, Sigmund: Charcot and, 78; on childhood sexual trauma, 3, 85, 205; dream-work, 180; on family romances, 89, 90, 117; on melancholia, 240n73; on *Nachträglichkeit*, 181, 204, 209, 241n81, 278; on nursemaids, 83, 209, 243n95; Oedipus complex, 90, 196–197; on schizophrenia, 270n33; *Studies on Hysteria*, 50, 76, 241n81; on trauma, 4, 78, 202, 241n81; on traumatic neuroses, 4, 7, 53, 54; use of hypnosis, 78, 79, 241n82. *See also* psychoanalysis

gaps, 5, 17–18, 38, 84–85. *See also* secrets
gender relations, 121, 195. *See also* feminist politics; marriages; patriarchy; women
Gerwani, 186, 199, 200, 201, 276
ghosts, 73, 182, 184. *See also* phantoms
Gikandi, Simon, 173–174
Gorky, Arshile, 10–11, 13
Guattari, Félix, 55–56, 70–71
Guha, Ranajit, 50, 86

Haagsche (Haagse) romans, 7, 8, 13–14, 50–51, 73, 276. *See also* Couperus, Louis
hadji/haji, 63, 64–65, 69, 137, 277

Haraway, Donna, 2, 183
Hatta, Mohammad, 94, 101, 103, 134, 141, 144, 156
haunting. *See* ghosts; phantoms; transgenerational haunting
Heraty, Toeti, 97, 99, 101, 102, 129–130, 132, 247n27
Heutsz, J. B. van, 52, 57–58
Hidden Force, The (*De stille kracht*; Couperus), 50, 71, 73, 80, 81, 83, 85
hikajat/hikayat, 54, 55, 277
history: control of, 7, 188, 201, 212, 267n2; of Dutch Indies, xxiii–xxv, 220n7; literary works and, 10–12; writing of, 69, 174, 176–177, 183, 209, 210, 212
Hollandsche Lelie, De (The Dutch Lily), 98
Holocaust survivors, 4, 5–6, 91
hormat (deference), 56, 86, 277
House of Glass (*Rumah Kaca*; Toer): antimimetic model of trauma, 204; archives, 172, 174; critique of colonialism, 167–168; phantoms and phantasms, 165–166, 167, 168, 172; plot, 165–169; power of writing theme, 172; psychoanalytic discourse, 175; publication, 171; suitcase of dreams, 170–171; twinned protagonists, 161–162, 164–169, 170–171, 173
Hunt, Lynn, 89, 90, 117, 155
hybridity, 97, 145, 146
hypnosis, 53, 77, 78, 79, 241n82
hysteria, 4, 50, 53, 73, 76, 78, 241n81

ideal-speech community, 26, 112, 114, 115, 149
ilmu. See *elmoe*s
imperial field, 18–19, 21, 47, 48, 84–85, 202–203, 277
Indische Letteren. *See* Dutch Indies Letters
Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), 151, 154, 156, 201, 272n53. *See also* anticommunist massacres; Gerwani
Indonesian language, 56, 94, 201. *See also* Malay language
Indonesian Revolution, 90, 149, 151, 156. *See also* nationalists
Indos: culture, 146; definition, 277; marriages, 74; population, 229n83; in postcolonial Indonesia, 44; women, 74, 83; writers, 98. *See also* mixed-race individuals
interracial marriages, 42, 45, 74, 83, 146
intrusive intimacies, 3–4, 9, 209–210, 211, 213, 277
Islam: in contemporary Indonesia, 203; in Couperus' works, 71; Dutch fears, 71; Marxism and, 150; polygamy, 106, 138; scholars, 63–64, 69, 279; Soewarsih on, 137; Sufism, 145; Tirto Adhi Soerjo's criticism, 63–65, 86; *ulama*, 58, 280; women, 40, 137–138, 208

Jameson, Frederic, 16
Janet, Pierre, 78, 203, 270n34
Java: Bupati, 56, 57, 82–83, 86, 275; nationalist groups, 93, 243n93; political authority, 152; traditional beliefs, 105; West, 132–133
Javanese nobility: fictional portrayals, 27–33, 227n55; marriages, 67; racism, 28–29, 30, 31; titles, 65, 232n10, 279

kampung (village), 66, 277
Kartini, R. A., 80, 98, 137, 250n53
Kartini Schools, 93, 246n16

Kartodikromo, Marco, 55
kebudayaan (culture), 103–104, 277
kijaji/kjai/kyai (healer/teacher), 109, 277
Koch, C. J., *The Year of Living Dangerously*, 152, 259n59
Koch, Marcel, 140, 141
Kritiek en Opbouw (Criticism and Construction), 136, 137, 140–141
krontjong/kroncong music, 123, 125–126, 127, 146–147, 253n9, 277
Künkel, Fritz, 112, 114, 250n58

Lacan, Jacques, 224n25; on enigmatic signifiers, 3; on upholstery button (anchoring point), 13, 219n31, 244n8
LaCapra, Dominick, 5
lack, perceptions of, 121, 129. *See also* desire
Lane, Max, 171, 210
Laplanche, Jean: on afterwardsness, 1, 2, 3, 4–5, 173, 181, 197, 209; on enigmatic signifiers and intrusive intimacies, 3–4, 211; on memory, 159; on phantoms and phantasies, 85, 180, 207–208; on translation, 3, 197, 206, 211; on traumatic memories, 5, 202
Larung (Utami): ending, 190, 196; female characters, 211; main characters and plot, 16, 178, 179–180, 183–184, 188–189, 191, 192, 195; opening, 184–189, 192; phantoms and phantasies, 181, 193; publication, 178; trauma, 176, 181–182, 184–185, 186, 188–189, 192, 193, 205, 206
Laub, Dori, 4, 5–6
LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat), 150, 159–160
Leys, Ruth, 79
lingua franca Malay, 14, 54–56, 70, 233n15, 277
lintah darat (leeches or profiteers), 63, 277
literary works: relationship to history, 10–12; as situated testimonies, 2, 14, 148–149
loss, melancholia and, 193
love: in imperial field, 47, 48; in Tirto's novels, 59, 60–61, 62–63

magical powers. See *elmoe*s; witches
Maier, Hendrik M. J., 122, 130, 222nn15–16, 223n25, 232nn12–13, 233n16, 245nn12–13, 252nn4–7, 253n11, 254n16, 254n19, 257n45, 257n47, 258n48, 258n54, 262n3, 264n13, 269n21
Malay language: Balai Poestaka Malay, 55, 122, 275; lingua franca Malay, 14, 54–56, 70, 233n15, 277; literary, 54, 55, 232n12; nationalism and, 70, 122, 150. *See also* Indonesian language
Mangoenkoesuma, Soejitno, 112, 136, 140, 141, 144, 250n57, 258n48
Manikebu (Manifes Kebudajaan), 159, 160, 277
Manjali and Cakrabirawa (Utami), 185, 198, 199, 201
Mann, Thomas, *Buddenbrooks*, 73
mannen-maatschappij (male society), 138, 277
Manusia Bebas (Free Human Beings). See *Buiten het gareel*
marriages: gender roles, 101, 136; interracial, 42, 45, 74, 83, 146; of Javanese nobility, 67; phantasies, 66–67; polygamy, 67, 93, 106, 110, 138, 157, 250n53
Marxism, 149, 150. *See also* Indonesian Communist Party

masochism, 194–195
Mbembe, Achille, 6–7
McVey, Ruth, 89–90, 150
Medan Prijaji (*Upper-Class World*), 59, 61, 65, 71, 236n36, 237n45
melancholia: critical, 8; definition, 277; desire and, 39; Freud on, 240n73; intergenerational transmission, 84; loss and, 193; national, 15; in novels, 72–74, 75–78, 81
Memmi, Albert, 118, 265n25
memory: declarative, 4, 203, 206, 276; procedural, 4, 203, 204, 206, 279; repressed, 160, 161, 178, 188, 267n3; subjectivity and, 181; of trauma, 4, 5–6, 189, 202, 203–204
men: male society, 138; sexuality, 194–195. *See also* gender relations; patriarchy
mimetic model of trauma, 203, 206, 241n85, 270n35, 278
minor literatures, 20, 54, 55–56, 70–71, 233n17
mixed-race individuals, 37, 42, 84. *See also* Eurasians; Indos
modernity: bourgeois, 133, 136; coexistence with traditional customs, 69; enchantments, 86; postcolonial, 171. *See also* colonial modernity
Mohamad, Goenawan, 159, 160, 161
Mrázek, Rudolf, 136

Nachträglichkeit (deferred action), 3, 181, 204, 209, 241n81, 268n13, 278. *See also* afterwardsness
narratives: historical and literary, 10–12; traumatic, 5. *See also* family romances
nationalists: activists, 94, 99; bourgeois, 134–135, 136; cultural, 140, 142; Dutch-language education, 122; hatred of Dutch, 46; idealism, 129–130, 135; Indonesia as nation, 62; influences, 139–140; in Java, 93, 243n93; leaders, 94, 101–104, 141, 144, 155–156; Malay language and, 70, 122, 150; in 1930s, 91, 94, 134; in novels, 124–125, 129, 134–135; parties, 247n31; political conflicts, 99, 101, 131–132, 135; repression, 107–108, 134–135, 246n19; romanticism, 102; Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath), 56, 94, 122; traditional beliefs and, 101–102, 104; in World War II, 141–142; writers, 121; youth organizations, 93. See also *Buiten het gareel*; *Buru Quartet*
Natives: bureaucrats, 27–33, 56, 108, 165, 166–169, 227n55, 234n22, 236n37; class differences, 82–83, 86; collaborators/cooperators, 56, 86, 94, 99, 134, 142, 210; collective consciousness, 70; commerce, 71; desire, 33, 34–36, 37; interracial marriages, 45, 74, 83, 146; as legal category, 220n10; perceived contamination of Dutch, 83; plantation workers, 24; rulers, 67, 82–83, 86; servants, 22–23, 24, 26, 33, 38, 100; traditional customs, 105–106. *See also* Dutch-language education; Indos; nationalists
Natives, Dutch views of: as childlike, 82; fear of, 35, 46, 227n55; paternalism, 45–46, 48, 90; racist, 24, 31; stereotypes, 36
nerimo-levenshouding (attitude of acceptance), 144–145, 278
Netherlands: class differences, 73, 77; German invasion, 141, 143–144; parliamentary democracy, 149;

psychoanalysis, 75–76, 77, 85; weather, 76–77; women's magazines, 98. See also *Haagsche romans*
New Order (Orde Baru): activists, 16; anticommunism, 161, 178; archives, 176–177; *Buru Quartet* as critique, 165; censorship, 160, 212, 267n2; control of history, 7, 188, 201, 212, 267n2; definition, 278; gender roles, 195; history writing, 176–177; novels set during, 178–180; opposition, 191; political prisoners, 161, 162–164, 171, 172; trauma, 181–182; violence, 6, 160, 176–177, 178, 181, 195, 199. *See also* Suharto
newspapers: *Bintang Hindia* (Indies Star), 64, 237n42; censorship, 66, 141, 160, 212; controlled by colonial government, 65–66; Dutch, 81–82; language used, 54, 55, 70; liberal, 237n42; *Medan Prijaji* (*Upper-Class World*), 59, 61, 65, 71, 236n36, 237n45; nationalist, 62; press offenses, 63, 68, 278; of Tirto Adhi Soerjo, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 68, 70, 71, 236n36, 237n45
Nieuwenhuys, Rob, 13, 136, 140
njai/nyai (Native women): definition, 278; fictional portrayals, 59–62, 63–64, 66–67, 69–70, 86, 164, 168, 169; mistresses of Dutch men, 74

Old Order. *See* Soekarno, Achmad
Old People and Things That Pass Them By (Van oude mensen, de dingen, die voorbij gaan; Couperus), 51, 73, 80–81, 83, 160–161
Only Yesterday (*Nog pas gisteren*; Dermoût), 7, 19, 22–25, 46–47, 221n11
Orientalism (Said), 212
Ouboter-Kist, Maria de Bruyn, 22, 227n50

Pané, Armijn: essays, 15, 142–145, 148; political views, 142, 148, 149; use of Malay, 122. See also *Belenggoe*; *Poedjangga Baroe*
Pané, Sanusi, 122, 145
patriarchy, 107–108, 118, 194, 195
pembantu (*pelajan/pelayan*; servant), 33, 278. *See also* servants
pembuangan (exile), 68, 278
peranakan (Chinese Indonesian), 122, 278
Perron, Edgar du, **113**; death, 91, 140; Indonesian friends, 111, 112–114, 117–118, 120, 132, 134, 136, 140–141, 258n48; influence on Soewarsih, 91, 92–93, 97; introduction to *Buiten het gareel*, 90, 98, 101, 102–103; journals associated with, 136, 258n48; literary criticism, 99, 117, 144; obituaries, 120, 140–141; Sjahrir and, 259n58; on Soekarno, 156; writing of, 91
persdelict (press offense), 63, 68, 278
phantasies: in Ayu Utami's works, 179, 181; in *Belenggoe*, 148; colonial, 8, 9–10, 14, 54; conscious and unconscious, 180–181; in Couperus' works, 9, 81–84, 85; definition, 278; meaning, 8; phantasms and, 217n21; postcolonial, 8, 172; sexual, 81–82, 84, 115, 194, 198–199, 211; in Tirto Adhi Soerjo's works, 52, 62–68, 69–70, 85–86
phantasmatic, 180–181, 278
phantasms: in *Belenggoe*, 148; in Couperus' work, 75, 79–80, 81; definition, 278; Soekarno as, 158, 211

phantoms: in Ayu Utami's works, 189–190, 193, 205; in Couperus' works, 9, 81–84, 85; definition, 279; degenerative effects of empire, 81–84, 86; as messages, 207–208; in novels, 8, 17–18, 193; translating, 207–208; transmission, 38–39
PKI. *See* Indonesian Communist Party
Poedjangga Baroe (The New Poet), 109–110, 142–143, 144–145, 146–147, 252n5, 279
points de capiton. *See* anchoring points; Lacan, Jacques
political prisoners (*tapol)*, 162–163, 171, 172
polygamy, 67, 93, 106, 138, 157, 250n53. *See also* marriages
Pontalis, Jean-Bertrand, 85, 180
postcolonial modernity, 171
postcolonial phantasies, 8, 172
postcolonial subjectivity, 132
postcolonial writers. *See* Toer, Pramoedya Ananta; Utami, Ayu
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), 204, 271n36
Povinelli, Elizabeth A., 47
prijaji/priyayi (bureaucrats), 56, 108, 234n22, 236n37, 279
Pringgodigdo, Abdul Karim, 111, 258n48
Pringgodigdo, Soewarni, 88, 93, 110–111, 112–114, 117–118, 141, 250n53
procedural memory, 4, 203, 204, 206, 279
Proust, Marcel, *A la recherche du temps perdu*, 4
psychoanalysis: discourse in novels, 175; influence on Couperus, 77–79; influence on Indonesian literature, 7, 205; language, 272n57; in Netherlands, 75–76, 77, 85; transnational discourse, 7, 8. *See also* Freud, Sigmund; traumatic neuroses
PTSD. *See* Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

quilting points. *See* anchoring points

race: complexity, 60; ignoring differences, 45, 48; interracial marriages, 42, 45, 74, 83, 146; skin color and, 60–61
racism, 24, 28–29, 30, 31
Raden Mas title, 279
Raden title, 279
Rafael, Vicente L., 47
rajah/raja (ruler), 67, 279
Rakjat/rakyat (people), 121, 130, 156, 279, 280
Rand, Nicholas, 18
Real, 206, 279
recognition/misrecognition, 129, 134, 135–136
reformasi period, 160, 179, 188, 191, 213
Regents (Bupati), 56, 57, 82–83, 86, 279
religions: restrictions on women's bodies, 208; syncretism, 199–200. *See also* Islam
repetition: in Couperus' works, 78, 84; in Dermoût's works, 20, 24
revolutions: family romances, 89, 90, 117; French, 89, 90, 117, 151; Indonesian, 90, 149, 151, 156; romance of, 151, 156
Rinkes, R. A., 165, 210
romance of the revolution, 151, 156
romances. *See* family romances
Rumah Kaca. See *House of Glass*
Rumphius, G. E., 21, 27, 31, 32, 36–37, 43

Said, Edward, 212
Salleh, Muhammad Haji, 54, 55
Saman (Utami): ending, 195; female characters, 192–196, 211; main characters and plot, 16, 178–179, 183, 189–190, 191, 192–194; narrative voices, 179; phantoms and phantasies, 179, 181, 189–190, 193, 205; publication, 178, 191; sexual relationships, 193–196, 205–206; trauma, 176
Santoso, Maria Ullfah, 137, 256n36
santri (pious Muslims), 66, 279
schizophrenia, 270n33
secondary revision, 43, 180, 182, 229n80, 279
secrets: in archives, 174–175, 206; in family romances, 18; incremental truth-telling, 48, 49, 207; in novels, 17–18, 74–75, 78–79, 80–81, 208; transgenerational haunting, 22, 90–91. *See also* phantoms
selamatan (ritual meal), 105–106, 279
self: cultivation, 19; Javanese ideas, 105
selir (minor wives), 67, 279
servants, 22–23, 24, 26, 33, 38, 100
Setiawan, Hersri, 163
sexuality: childhood sexual trauma, 3, 85, 205; deviant, 81, 85; female, 62, 191–192, 193–196, 208, 211; homoerotic desire, 29, 33, 34, 35–36; phantasies, 81–82, 84, 115, 194, 198–199, 211; promiscuity, 133, 208; rape, 195, 205; sadomasochistic, 194–195; in Utami's novels, 193–196. See also *Nachträglichkeit*
Shackles. See *Belenggoe*
Siegel, James T., 16, 182, 190–191, 198
Siluman Karangkobar (The Spirit of Karangkobar; Djojopoespito), 120–121, 157
Sino-Malay novels, 54–55. *See also* lingua franca Malay
situated testimonies: definition, 279; ethnography as, 182–183; literary works as, 2, 14, 148–149
Sjahrir, Soetan: differences from Soekarno, 101–102, 104; du Perron and, 259n58; exile, 94; followers, 103, 111, 149, 155–156; imprisonments, 141, 151; opposition to fascism, 134; return from exile, 144; during Soekarno's rule, 144, 151, 154, 156; support of parliamentary democracy, 149
Sjech/Syech (Islamic scholars), 63–64, 69, 279
Small Souls. See *Books of Small Souls*
Snoek, Kees, 111
socialism, 108, 134, 149, 161. *See also* Marxism; Sjahrir, Soetan
socialist realism, 151, 159–160
Soekarno, Achmad, **157**; as anchoring point, 109; autobiography, 154–155, 261n73; fall of, 149, 156, 158, 160, 164, 182; ideology, 149, 150–151; imprisonments, 141, 156, 247n31; Japanese and, 156; "Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism," 150; as nationalist leader, 91, 94, 101, 103–104, 118–119, 152, 155–156, 188; personality, 103–104; as phantasm, 158, 211; in power, 150–155, 156–158, 173; relations with people, 103, 151, 152–154, 156, 158; repressed memories of regime, 188; return from exile, 144; romance of the revolution, 151,

156; spirit world and, 9, 101, 104; wild schools and, 246n19; wives, 102, 103, 153, 157
Soekarno, Achmad, speeches by: book of, 187, 188; "Indonesia Accuses," 103; "Marhaen and the Proletarian," 152, 157, 247n31; during World War II, 156; "Year of Living Dangerously," 149, 151–152, 153–154, 259n59, 260n65, 280
Soekarnoputri, Megawati, 188
Soeroto, Noto, 98
spirit world, 9, 104, 105, 190–191. *See also* ghosts; phantoms; witches
Spivak, Gayatri, 11
Stewart, Susan, 18, 37, 120
Stoler, Ann L., 83, 216n16, 217n19, 219n28, 220n8, 225n35, 230n86, 240n70, 243n95, 263n6, 268n12
storytelling, 12, 20, 54, 205
Strachey, James, 3
subjectivity: colonial, 132; definition, 279–280; memory and, 181; modern, 129; postcolonial, 132; shifting, 16
subjects: agency, 203; agencyless, 180, 204, 275; Indonesian, 211
Suharto: coup, 149, 160, 164, 272n53; fall of, 179, 188, 199. *See also* New Order
Sundanese language, 92, 94, 95, 97, 121–122, 138–139
suturing, 11, 104, 166, 265n18, 280

Tagore, Rabindranath, 137
Taman Siswa (Garden of Pupils) school movement, 89–90, 95, 99–101, 144, 145, 246n19
Taussig, Michael, 176, 201
Taylor, Jean Gelman, 229n83, 230n86, 244n2
tempo doeloe (times past), 3, 13, 49, 74, 280
Ten Thousand Things, The (*De tienduizend dingen*; Dermoût): autobiographical elements, 33; Bibi character, 40–42, 44; colonial critique, 21–22; ending, 43–44, 46–47; English translation, 221n11; ghosts, 43–44; main character and grandmother, 21, 25–26, 27, 36–42, 43–44, 46, 47–49; plot, 25–36, 39–44; Professor and Soeprapto story, 27–33, 207; publication, 7; vignettes of murders, 26–36, 42–43; writing of, 19
Termorshuizen, Gerard, 92
testimonies: literature as, 2; of trauma survivors, 5–6, 15–16, 174, 189, 267n3. *See also* situated testimonies
time: chronotopes, 20; colonial modernity and, 84–86; experienced by trauma survivors, 4–5; gaps, 5, 18, 44; past and present, 69–70; thickening, 20
Toer, Pramoedya Ananta, **163**; archives, 58, 162, 164, 170, 171, 172, 205; on Ayu's work, 213, 273n3; exile, 52–53; on fiction and history, 1–2, 209; imprisonment, 16, 161, 162–164, 171, 173, 204–205, 209; on National Awakening, 1, 2, 210; novels, 7; *Sang Pemula* (The Pioneer), 62–63; similarities to Tirto Adhi Soerjo, 266n32; socialist realist style, 151, 159–160; on Tirto's life, 68–69; on Tirto's works, 62–63, 65, 68, 71; trauma theory debates and, 203, 204–205, 206; writing career, 164, 210. See also *Buru Quartet*
Torok, Maria, 8, 18, 22, 90–91, 193, 207

totok (pure) Dutch, 45, 146, 280
tradition, 26–27, 47, 69
transgenerational haunting, 22, 90–91, 280
translation: of anchoring points, 206; Laplanche on, 3, 197, 206, 211; of phantoms, 207–208
trauma: childhood sexual, 3, 85, 205; in family romances, 18; Freud on, 3, 4, 78, 85, 202, 205, 241n81; hysteria and, 53; in imperial field, 84–85; memories, 4, 5–6, 189, 202, 203–204; narratives, 5; in New Order period, 181; time and, 4–5; transmission, 38–39, 84
trauma survivors: agency, 189; experiences of time, 4–5; memories, 4, 5–6, 189; testimonies, 5–6, 15–16, 174, 189, 267n3
trauma theory: antimimetic model, 204, 206, 241n85, 275; debates, 203, 204–206; definition, 280; hypnosis and, 79; mimetic model, 203, 206, 241n85, 270n35, 278
traumatic neuroses: definition, 280; Freud on, 4, 7, 53, 54; in novels, 78, 181; treatment by hypnosis, 53, 79
Trezise, Thomas, 5
truth: in archives, 175; in history writing, 183; incremental truth-telling, 48, 49, 207
Turkey, Armenian genocide, 10–11, 12
Twilight of the Souls, The (*Zielenschemering*; Couperus), 73–75, 77, 81, 239n67

ulama (Islamic leaders), 58, 280
uleëbalang (secular leaders), 58, 280
uncanny, 20, 73, 84, 86, 184, 280
Utami, Ayu, **177**; *Bilangan Fu* (The Fu Numeral), 178, 196–201, 266n1; community of writers, 171–172; Freudian ideas in novels, 181–182, 196–197, 205–206; *Manjali and Cakrabirawa*, 185, 198, 199, 201; novels, 7, 176, 177, 183, 211–213; trauma theory debates and, 203, 205–206; twinned protagonists, 16, 178. See also *Larung*; *Saman*

violence: ethnic, 202–203; of New Order regime, 6, 160, 176–177, 178, 181, 195, 199. *See also* anticommunist massacres; wars
volk (people), 156, 280. See also *Rakjat/rakyat*
volksmenner (demagogue), 102, 156, 280
Volksraad (People's Council), 95, 130, 280
Vuyk, Beb, 140, 141–142

wars: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or shell shock, 4, 204, 271n36. *See also* revolutions
Watugunung and Sangkuriang, 196, 197
witches, 182, 183–184, 185–186, 190–191, 192, 198
women: agency, 196; childless, 127, 128, 134; educated, 66–67, 93, 98; Muslim, 40, 137–138, 208; prostitutes, 123; roles, 101; sexuality, 62, 191–192, 193–196, 208, 211; subjectivities, 16; suffrage, 137; virginity, 123, 126–127; writers, 212, 273n2. *See also* gender relations; Gerwani; *njai/nyai*
women's movement, 110–111, 137, 138. *See also* feminist politics

World War II, 21, 91, 134, 141–142, 143–144, 156
Woude, Johan van der, 19

"Year of Living Dangerously" ("Tahun 'Vivere Pericoloso'"), 149, 151–152, 153–154, 259n59, 260n65, 280
Yoder, Hilda van Neck, 21–22, 37–38, 46, 47, 224n27

zending (missionaries), 139–140, 280
Zoebran, Chalil (Khalil Gibran), 138
zonden (sins), 106, 280

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Laurie J. Sears is presently professor of history at the University of Washington. She is the author of *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (1996) and the editor of *Boundaries of the Text: Epic Performances in South and Southeast Asia* (co-editor Joyce Flueckiger, 1991), *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths* (1993), *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia* (1996), and *Knowing Southeast Asian Subjects* (2007).

Production Notes for Sears | *Situated Testimonies: Dread and Enchantment in an Indonesian Literary Archive*

Jacket design by Julie Matsuo-Chun

Text design and composition by Jansom with display type in Gill Sans and text type in Adobe Garamond Pro and Adobe Arabic

Printing and binding by Sheridan Books, Inc.

Printed on 60 lb. House White, 444 ppi.

UNIVERSITY *of* WASHINGTON

SOUTHEAST ASIA LITERATURE / HISTORY

"This is a remarkable book in the way it attempts to tease out and crash through the barriers of self-restricting and self-restraining area studies. *Situated Testimonies* poses a challenge to Indonesianists as well as to many beyond the field. It is an adventure embarked upon with the help of Freud, Lacan, and other friends and foes. Sears demonstrates both the benefits and tribulations of such an endeavor. At its best, her book attains an impressive simplicity as it uncovers a sense of the world in both its subjects—the colonial and postcolonial literary figures—and its author as she thinks and writes about them."

—RUDOLF MRAZEK, University of Michigan

"In her innovative and sophisticated new book, Laurie Sears re-writes portions of the literary history of Indonesia over a sweep of many decades. Sears time-travels across the colonial and postcolonial divide, letting theory, translation, anxiety, and memory function as her airplane. It is an interesting and illuminating ride that we get to take with her."

—ERIC TAGLIACOZZO, Cornell University

JACKET ART

Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, during a seventeen-day visit to Japan in November 1943 with Mohammad Hatta and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo. *Courtesy of KITLV Archive, Leiden.*

JACKET DESIGN

Julie Matsuo-Chun

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I PRESS
HONOLULU, HAWAI'I 96822-1888

ISBN 978-0-8248-3683-2

www.uhpress.hawaii.edu